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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The primary aim of the *British Journal of Delinquency* is to enable students of criminology to keep in touch with recent developments in the various branches of science concerned with the investigation, treatment and prevention of delinquency. Experience gained by the *Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency* has established the urgent need for a special Journal dealing with the subject. When the *Psychopathic Clinic* (now, under the Ministry of Health, the *Portman Clinic: I.S.T.D.*) was founded by the *Institute*, its activities were at first concerned almost exclusively with the mental and physical examination and treatment of specially selected cases. But it soon became apparent that, however disordered the mental or physical condition of many delinquents might be, it was not possible, as in the case of the psycho-neuroses for example, to leave diagnosis exclusively in the hands of the medical psychologist or general physician. The services of the educational psychologist, the social worker, the sociologist and the statistician were found to be essential to accurate investigation, a conclusion to which expression was given in the rapid expansion of the Clinic Staff. Similarly the success of treatment of delinquency was found to depend in a large measure on the simultaneous application of a variety of therapeutic techniques; indeed, the results obtained, often in a remarkably short space of time, were apparently due to the fact that the 'individual' delinquent was treated by a therapeutic 'group', including the psycho-therapist, the physician, the psychiatric social worker, the educational psychologist, the probation officer, and sometimes the teacher, the factory welfare officer and other individual or social agents whose services could be mobilized by the Clinic. In short, the success of the I.S.T.D. has depended first and last on the efficiency of its team-work.

The decision to publish a special journal was not however guided solely by the need to provide workers with a convenient medium of reference. It was a logical extension of the modern tendency to apply a number of

scientific disciplines to the elucidation of individual as well as of social problems. For if we accept as a working definition of delinquency that it is the co-efficient of friction between the individual and his environment, or between man and society (as represented by the law), or again between primitive (infantile) systems of adaptation to life and a more or less adult acceptance of convenient and desirable social regulations, it follows that the methods adopted in the study of delinquency should reflect and apply these generalizations with some fidelity. In short, we must recognize that although the study of delinquency cannot be the exclusive preserve of any one branch of science, the very fact that it involves the application of a variety of scientific disciplines entitles it to be regarded in the strict sense of the term as a 'speciality' in its own right. And clearly every speciality deserves and requires a special journal.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps unnecessary to add that the *British Journal of Delinquency* is not in the customary sense a clinical journal. Clinical contributions will of course receive special consideration, but it is hoped to publish articles, both theoretical and practical, from trained workers in the various departments of criminology; namely, medical psychology, psychiatry, psycho-analysis, organic medicine, educational psychology, sociology, economics, anthropology, psycho-biology and statistics; also from social workers, probation officers, prison and other institutional personnel, and from forensic specialists whose work brings them in intimate contact with the problem of delinquency. Moreover, the Editors, being convinced that the mere publication of scientific articles is not the most effective way of achieving progress in any science, intend from time to time to promote the correlation of data and conclusions by means of editorial commentary, by the publication of special critical articles and by correspondence.

Subject to these general considerations, the policy of the *British Journal of Delinquency* will be to give preference to papers on research. Workers in the field can be readily classified in three main groups: those interested in the causes of delinquency; those concerned mainly with the diagnosis and treatment of individual cases; and those who are anxious to discover and apply as quickly as possible methods of prevention organized on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. It is the view of the Editorial Board that progress in any of these directions depends on carrying out extensive researches into both the individual and the social aspects of the subject.¹ It must be recognized not only that research on delinquency

¹ The I.S.T.D. has drawn up a list of the priority researches which, given sufficient financial support, it intends to initiate. Some researches have already been embarked upon and the findings will in due course be published in this *Journal*.

is still very haphazard but that a new branch of science calls for new methods of research if such can be evolved. It also requires a combination of established methods which for all practical purposes constitutes a 'new' approach. So far from maintaining the rosy illusion that a large volume of research in delinquency exists, waiting only for publishing facilities, the Editors are only too well aware that fruitful results cannot be achieved until these new methods have been consistently applied. But they hope and believe that, however modest its earlier efforts may be, the appearance of the *British Journal of Delinquency* will provide an additional stimulus in this direction. Even in the clinical field, for example, new techniques of clinical diagnosis and treatment are essential; new classifications of clinical material are urgently needed; and the status of the clinical worker in delinquency requires a new definition. Above all, special training in delinquency work is called for. Until such workers are trained there must inevitably be a time-lag in the carrying out of special researches. But that is all the stronger argument for providing students with a special journal.

Apart from the publication of full-length articles and shorter notes and communications, it is intended to provide certain ancillary services of value to the worker. These will include book reviews, abstracts of books, papers and journals not readily accessible, a calendar of existing or projected researches, a survey of current activities in different regions, and a record of administrative policies or changes in policy. These various reviews and reports will, it is hoped, be representative of the different fields of endeavour concerned both at home and abroad. As, however, this scheme involves building up an extensive organization, some time must inevitably elapse before it can function satisfactorily. In the meanwhile the Editors would be grateful to correspondents in the different regional areas if they would keep the Board advised of items of scientific or administrative interest touching on any branch of delinquency work.

A word in explanation of the title—*British Journal of Delinquency*. It was one of the original aims of the *Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency* to co-ordinate and consolidate existing scientific work on delinquency and to secure co-operation between bodies engaged in similar work in all parts of the world, ultimately to promote an international organization. Owing to various circumstances, in particular the bare necessity of keeping the *Institute* alive during the difficult war years, the latter and more ambitious project has had to lie fallow, except in so far as the Institute has always provided a meeting place for foreign visitors and maintained a lively correspondence with delinquency workers in other countries. In the meantime post-war interest in the subject has grown apace in clinical, sociological and administrative circles. And in fact an

International Organization founded in 1938 has now been revived and is working in close liaison with the I.S.T.D. It would, therefore, be invidious for any one country to pre-empt the title of International Journal. The Editors intend however that the articles published should be as representative as possible of work done in various lands. In this sense they hope to live up to the ideal of international co-operation, and will be more than satisfied if the British quota of work is representative, in volume and quality, of the forward position Britain now holds in this field of scientific endeavour.

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The names of James Devon, Hamblin Smith, Norwood East, and others bear witness to the honourable part played by Prison Medical Officers in the development of a scientific criminology in this country. But the activities of the 'institutional' criminologist have been rather overshadowed in recent years by the expansion of what might be called the 'ambulant' approach to delinquency, i.e. the application of diagnostic and, where necessary or possible, therapeutic methods to early cases attending Delinquency Clinics, Child Guidance and Psychiatric Centres, etc., with or without probationary supervision. And to the extent that the Delinquency Clinic bridges the gap between the 'non-delinquent' and the 'recidivist' it is inevitable that the ambulant system should provide the most fruitful field for research into causes and methods of prevention.

But it is just as essential to the progress of criminology that the chronic or incurable case, sometimes called the Dartmoor Type, should be carefully investigated as it is essential to psychiatric progress that investigations of the 'larval' or 'pre-psychotic' case should be correlated with studies of schizophrenia. We therefore welcome the opportunity of publishing Dr. Roper's preliminary survey of a prison population, and hope at some future date to publish more detailed investigations from the same quarter. It is of especial interest to find that, despite the manifest handicaps attendant on prison researches, surveys of this kind confirm the conclusions arrived at by the examination of 'clinic types' of delinquency. Granted that the latter are specially selected and that prison populations include a considerable proportion of 'civil offenders', it is nevertheless encouraging to find that the application of team-methods of approach to prisoners uncovers the familiar factors of traumatic or faulty development, mental instability and the like.

There is every reason to assume that further investigations may lead to changes in the prison system in Britain more radical than those initiated in the recent Criminal Justice Act. The great difficulties facing the investigator should not, however, be minimized. Although he shares the advantage

of the institutional psychiatrist in that his material is under continuous observation, in almost every other way the prison Medical Officer works at a disadvantage. Co-operation with trained Prison Visitors would no doubt provide him with the services of a 'substitute social-worker', but these means of checking the case-history and after-history are peculiarly limited. Above all, he shares with the probation officer some of the disadvantages of being on the side of the angels. The voluntary psychiatric and sociological investigator has in the emotional sense a clearer 'right of access' to the prisoner's mind. This is a difficulty which will no doubt diminish as the prison-psychiatrist obtains increasing authority in the grading and internal disposal of prisoners. In this connection recent developments in the Dutch Prison system (reported elsewhere in this issue) are of considerable interest. A combined observation and treatment centre for prisoners under sentence and for offenders on remand has been established in Utrecht, under the supervision of Dr. P. Baan, who combines these duties with his private psychiatric work and in that sense is a representative not only of the State but of the social community.

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The fact that Capital Punishment is still *sub judice* of a Royal Commission adds some topical interest to Professor Sellin's article in this issue. While it would not be proper to comment at this stage on the activities of the Commission, it is legitimate to hope that it will look upon itself in the light of an *ad hoc* research team. Should this happily prove to be the case, we may assume that one of the Commission's unchallengeable findings will be that, whatever the policy recommended, there is still urgent need for research on the subject. The fact that the most turbulent emotions are aroused in all concerned is itself a clear indication that one of the most fruitful sources of information on capital punishment is not so much the examination of such reliable statistics as exist, as the examination of anthropological evidence. If, for example, it should be a correct interpretation of the habit of blind-folding the prisoner before execution, that it owes less to humane motives of consideration than to an unconscious need to protect the executioners from the (not unnaturally) evil eye of the prisoner, it would amply repay the effort involved were the Commission to investigate, if not the whole history of atonement, punishment and sacrifice in primitive society, at least the habits and customs of the Middle Ages, when superstition was still a part of natural science and, therefore, less clouded by rationalization. No findings on capital punishment can be regarded as scientific which do not take into account the latest anthropological evidence.

A NOTE ON CAPITAL EXECUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

By THORSTEN SELLIN (PHILADELPHIA AND BERNE)

In view of the recent parliamentary debates concerning the abolition of the death penalty in England and of the present examination of the problem by a Royal Commission, it may be of interest to look at some aspects of the experience with the death penalty in the United States. How often has this penalty actually been employed in recent years and in what states? What are the offences which have actually been punished by death? What do we know about those who have been executed? Are any trends discernible in the use of the death penalty?

(1) *The Extent of the Use of the Death Penalty.* Accurate statistics of executions in the various parts of the United States are difficult to secure prior to 1930, and become increasingly difficult to compile the farther back one goes from that date. In the early days, executions took place in the local county, but during the last century, there has been a tendency to centralize them in some one prison in each state. This tendency was accelerated when electrocution came to be substituted for hanging, since the cost of the apparatus was considerable. To-day all the states that use the electric chair or the more recently introduced lethal gas chamber have centralized executions, except the State of Illinois. In that state executions of criminals convicted in Cook County (Chicago) take place in the county jail, while other executions occur in two state penitentiaries. Most of the states using hanging as the method have also confined executions to the state prison, but there are still two states (Delaware and Montana) that continue the original practice of putting criminals to death in the county where the conviction occurred.

Anyone who would attempt to develop execution statistics for the United States would find it necessary, prior to 1930, to make special search, state by state, to discover the number of executions annually in the prison designated to carry them out for the state as a whole. Prior to centralized executions and in the states that still carry them out locally, he would be obliged to secure the information from county authorities, an extremely difficult task, since some states have hundreds of counties. There exist a few studies in individual states that would be of some assistance, but so far

there is no history of capital punishment in the United States that has provided the needed statistics.

Beginning with the year 1927, the statistician of the Illinois Department of Welfare began to compile national execution statistics annually, by state, and tables were published from that time on in the annual reports of the department. I have not examined these reports except for the years 1927-31 and 1934-35. For the period beginning 1930, there is a check on the accuracy of the Illinois tables, in the execution statistics issued by the Bureau of the Census. In no year since 1929 were the Illinois tables accurate in detail, although in three of the four years examined the discrepancy in the totals for the country as a whole was only one execution a year. It may well be, therefore, that the figures of 139, 135, and 90 arrived at for 1927, 1928, and 1929 respectively are very close to the actual numbers.¹

Nation-wide data are also available for earlier periods. In an article published in 1906, James V. Garner² cites annual numbers for the period 1885-1904, and figures for 1890-1917 are published, by state, by Raymond T. Bye in his book on 'Capital Punishment in the United States'.³ Both authors have derived their data from the same sources, chiefly from the yearbooks of the *Chicago Tribune*. The accuracy of these figures cannot be verified. They show annual averages of executions to be 91 (1885-89), 121 (1890-95), 122 (1896-1900), 126 (1901-05), 106 (1906-10), and 99 (1911-15). The figures for 1916 and 1917 were 117 and 85 respectively. The total number of executions for 1885-1917 was given as 3,648.

In 1931 the director of the Bureau of the Census created an advisory committee on criminal statistics and appointed the writer of this article special agent and consultant to the bureau. Out of the work of this committee grew various suggestions for the enlargement of the bureau's activity in criminal statistics. One of them was that an effort should be made to compile national statistics of executions. The bureau through its annual reports on prisoners, beginning with the first report for 1926, had already secured information on the total number of executions occurring in the prisons reporting, which included all federal institutions and state institutions in all but a few states. The bureau possessed in its division of vital statistics a depository of death certificates sent in from a nation-wide registration

¹ State of Illinois : *Tenth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare*, July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927. Springfield, Ill., 1928. This report gives nation-wide execution data for 1927 on p. 377. The eleventh and twelfth annual reports give the data for 1928 and 1929 on pp. 457 and 369 respectively.

² 'Crime and Judicial Inefficiency', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 29, 161-178, May, 1906, p. 162.

³ Pp. 106. Philadelphia : Committee on Philanthropic Labor, Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1918 ; pp. 57-58.

TABLE I. CAPITAL EXECUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930-47

Region and State	Total	Year																	
		'30	'31	'32	'33	'34	'35	'36	'37	'38	'39	'40	'41	'42	'43	'44	'45	'46	'47
Total	2,713	155	153	140	159	168	199	194	147	190	159	124	123	147	135	120	117	131	152
Federal	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North-East	453	36	36	31	24	28	36	28	23	30	28	20	22	23	19	26	4	13	26
N. H.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vt.	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mass.	27	—	2	1	—	4	4	2	—	3	2	—	1	2	3	—	—	1	2
Conn.	14	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	2	1	1	3	—
N.Y.	247	15	12	20	18	15	16	21	14	7	15	13	15	18	12	20	—	4	12
N. J.	49	10	6	4	3	1	6	3	—	7	—	1	1	2	—	2	3	—	—
Pa.	113	9	16	5	3	8	10	1	8	12	10	4	5	1	2	3	—	5	11
North-Central	296	20	22	17	25	21	30	12	17	38	19	9	9	8	7	10	13	7	12
Ohio	111	8	10	7	11	7	10	6	1	12	10	2	4	2	5	2	7	2	5
Ind.	37	1	1	2	3	4	2	3	5	9	3	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—
Ill.	77	6	10	5	5	8	10	2	7	5	4	4	2	4	1	2	1	—	1
Iowa	17	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	4	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	3
Mo.	46	5	—	3	6	2	5	1	4	8	2	2	1	1	—	2	2	2	—
S. D.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Neb.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Kan.	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	2
South	1,639	67	78	81	92	100	110	128	92	101	93	83	76	102	91	69	75	99	102
Del.	12	2	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—
Md.	55	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	6	5	5	6	4	4	5	4
D. C.	35	1	1	4	3	6	—	1	2	1	1	—	—	8	1	—	1	4	1
Va.	60	3	2	2	1	—	3	5	3	5	4	4	1	3	2	3	5	9	5
W. Va.	26	2	3	2	3	—	2	—	4	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	1
N. C.	225	10	8	8	5	20	11	23	12	19	15	10	9	7	14	10	9	13	22
S. C.	119	5	9	6	5	11	8	5	2	4	10	5	9	7	7	4	4	5	13
Ga.	246	7	18	12	14	13	23	11	16	15	8	14	6	11	17	10	19	16	16
Fla.	98	1	7	1	5	1	6	11	6	2	4	3	10	11	7	7	5	5	6
Ky.	80	2	—	4	9	3	6	11	5	4	8	2	3	6	8	—	4	4	1
Tenn.	77	2	1	—	4	9	—	9	10	2	10	4	5	5	6	—	2	5	3
Ala.	103	5	2	4	3	5	2	17	4	9	9	9	4	9	5	2	3	9	2
Miss.	100	1	4	8	5	8	2	7	6	5	2	6	5	6	4	13	4	9	5
Ark.	85	10	1	2	4	3	9	5	5	7	7	4	5	5	2	4	2	4	6
La.	97	5	7	13	7	7	6	3	4	4	2	4	6	6	6	3	4	2	8
Okla.	46	2	4	4	14	1	5	3	2	—	—	2	1	1	2	—	2	2	1
Tex.	175	8	10	9	9	12	20	14	8	18	12	8	6	11	4	9	4	5	8
West	321	31	17	11	18	19	23	26	15	18	19	12	16	14	18	15	25	12	12
Mont.	6	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Ida.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wyo.	7	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Colo.	36	7	4	2	2	1	3	1	1	—	4	—	2	2	2	—	3	—	2
N. M.	4	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Ariz.	29	2	1	—	—	4	—	4	4	1	2	1	—	—	7	—	3	—	—
Utah	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—
Nev.	15	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	1	1	2	—	1	1
Wash.	36	4	1	2	1	2	1	3	—	4	5	2	3	—	2	2	1	2	1
Ore.	13	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	—
Calif.	169	15	9	6	10	11	17	17	8	11	4	6	10	9	3	7	13	6	7

area. By examining such certificates from states not co-operating in reporting data on prisoners and from states which still used local executions even though they possessed state prisons so reporting, the bureau found it easy to set up certain tables which would give a clear picture of the situation.⁴

The bureau published the results of its special inquiry for 1930 in the annual report for that year,⁵ and continued the same procedure in succeeding reports, until the series was discontinued with the report covering the year 1946. A special two-page release for 1947 has since been issued by the bureau. The statistical data in this article have been derived from these sources. It is claimed by foreign criminal statisticians (e.g. Roesner) that these statistics on executions give fuller information than any similar statistics published in other countries.

At the beginning of the eighteen-year period 1930–1947, which we shall study more closely, eight states did not have the death penalty for murder, although some of these states had retained it for murder or aggravated assault committed by a prisoner serving a life sentence for murder, or for treason. These states were Maine and Rhode Island in New England and Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and the two Dakotas in the north-central section of the country. In 1935 Kansas re-established the death penalty and in 1939 South Dakota followed suit.

Table I shows the extent to which the death penalty was executed in the various states which permit its use. One of the states, Idaho, had no executions, and showed none for the 1927–1929 period covered by the Illinois tables. This state can for all practical purposes be considered as having abandoned the death penalty. Nebraska, which had had 4 executions in 1927–1929, had none afterwards until 1945, and Vermont had but 2 in the period studied. New Hampshire's 1 execution in 1939 was the first in 17 years.

There were 4 executions during the period listed as federal—i.e. they involved federal offenders executed in some federal prison.⁶

⁴ We might add here that the decennial census reports on prisoners from 1850 to 1923 contained no accurate statistics on executions.

⁵ *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories 1929 and 1930.*

⁶ According to Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice (letter dated July 13, 1949), three of these executions occurred at the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, while one (in 1938) occurred at the Federal Correctional Institution, Milan, Mich. Four other executions were arranged for in state prisons (Oklahoma, 1936; Indiana, 1938; Tennessee, 1943; and Wyoming, 1945) and three in county jails (Marion County, Indiana, 1936; Gila County, Arizona, 1936; and Cook County, Illinois, 1938). These seven executions presumably are listed in Table I in the state figures. It is conceivable, however, that the two executions in the Arizona and Indiana county jails escaped such listing since all executions of state prisoners in those two states must take place in the state prisons and the Census Bureau may have relied entirely on the reports from those prisons in compiling execution statistics for those states.

Most of the executions occurred in the states of the South. This concentration becomes even clearer when we consider the population distribution of the nation. The states possessing the death penalty contained in 1940 a total of 118,300,773 people. Of these, 29 per cent. lived in the North-East section, 24 per cent. in the North-Central section, 11 per cent. in the West, and 36 per cent. in the South. Yet 60 per cent. of the executions occurred in the South, 17 per cent. in the North-East section, and 11 per cent. in each of the other two regions.

Electrocution has become the prevailing method of execution, being employed by 24 states and the District of Columbia. During the last decade Mississippi and Louisiana have adopted it (1940) instead of hanging. The latter method is still employed in 10 states, 1 in the North-East section (New Hampshire), 2 in the North-Central section (Iowa and Kansas), 3 in the South (Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia), and 4 in the West (Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Washington). Utah permits the offender to choose shooting instead of hanging. The lethal gas chamber has become increasingly popular since it was first introduced by Nevada in the 1920's. To-day 8 states use it, mostly in the West (North Carolina, Missouri, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, and California). California and Oregon were the latest states to adopt it (1939).

Federal prisoners executed in a federal institution were in the past put to death by hanging but 'on June 19, 1937, the law was amended so as to provide that the method of inflicting the death penalty in federal cases should be the method prescribed by the laws of the state within which the sentence was imposed [by the U.S. District Court] and that if no provision is made in the state law the court imposing the sentence is to designate some other state in which the sentence can be carried out.'⁷

(2) *Offences Involved.* A fraction over 12 per cent. of the executions involved other crimes than murder. Table II presents this information in more detail. There were 294 executions for rape, 13 for robbery, 8 for burglary, 12 for kidnapping, 6 for espionage, and 3 for aggravated assault by prisoners serving life sentences for murder. It is regrettable that the statistics for 1931-36 do not identify the individual states where these executions took place. The 6 espionage cases involved enemy saboteurs caught upon landing. A few of the executions for kidnapping occurred

⁷ News release, June 18, 1938, U.S. Department of Justice Washington, D.C. Since a federal prisoner was hanged a few weeks later in the Federal Correctional Institution in Michigan, a state which does not have the death penalty for murder, the meaning of the above quotation might be questioned. There was, however, no inconsistency involved. Michigan does have the death penalty for treason and prescribes hanging for those convicted of that crime. Of the twelve federal prisoners executed 1930-47, nine were hanged, two electrocuted, and one put to death by lethal gas.

outside the South, but all the executions for rape, robbery, and burglary are assignable to the Southern states except for the 2 cases of rape in Arizona.⁸

TABLE II. EXECUTIONS FOR OTHER OFFENCES THAN MURDER IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930-47

Region and State	Offence						
	Total	Rape	Robbery	Burglary	Kidnapping	Espionage	Aggrv. Assault ¹
Total . . .	336	294	13	8	12	6	3
Unclassified 1931-36 ²	81	69	5	1	4	—	2
<i>North-East</i>							
N. Y. . .	2	—	—	—	2	—	—
<i>North-Central</i>							
Ill. . .	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
Mo. . .	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Kan. . .	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>South</i>							
Del. . .	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
Md. . .	19	19	—	—	—	—	—
D. C. . .	6	—	—	—	—	6	—
Va. . .	8	8	—	—	—	—	—
W. Va. . .	4	1	—	—	3	—	—
N. C. . .	40	35	—	5	—	—	—
S. C. . .	24	24	—	—	—	—	—
Ga. . .	31	29	2	—	—	—	—
Fla. . .	17	16	—	—	1	—	—
Ky. . .	9	8	1	—	—	—	—
Tenn. . .	13	13	—	—	—	—	—
Ala. . .	14	10	2	2	—	—	—
Miss. . .	9	7	2	—	—	—	—
Ark. . .	10	10	—	—	—	—	—
La. . .	7	7	—	—	—	—	—
Okla. . .	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Tex. . .	26	25	1	—	—	—	—
<i>West</i>							
Ariz. . .	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Wash. . .	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
Calif. . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	1

¹ By prisoner serving life sentence for murder.

² During 1931-36, the state in which execution occurred was not identified in the census reports.

(3) *The Offenders.* Table III affords an opportunity to observe the racial provenance of those executed. There were 1,233 whites and 1,480

⁸ Two of the executions of federal prisoners involved kidnapping (one in Oklahoma in 1936 and one in Cook County, Illinois, in 1938). The rest were murder cases, two of them in connection with robberies of national banks.

coloured put to death.⁹ Of the whites, 76 were foreign-born, but this figure applies only to the 1930 decade, for after 1939 the reports do not give any data on this point. Of the coloured, all but 34 were negroes, i.e. 1,446. The exceptions were Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, or Japanese. All but 1 of these 34 were executed for murder ; 1 was executed for rape, in 1943.

TABLE III. RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EXECUTED 1930-47 IN THE UNITED STATES, BY OFFENCE.¹

Year	All Offences			Murder			Rape			Others		
	Total	White	Col'd	Total	White	Col'd	Total	White	Col'd	Total	White	Col'd
Total	2,713	1,233	1,480	2,376			294			42		
1930	155	89	66	147			6			2		
1931	153	77	76	137			15			1		
1932	140	62	78	128			10			2		
1933	159	77	82	151			6			2		
1934	168	65	103	154			14			—		
1935	199	119	80	184			13			2		
1936	194	92	102	180			10			4		
1937	147	69	78	133	67	66	13	2	11	1	—	1
1938	190	96	94	156	91	65	25	1	24	9	4	5
1939	159	80	79	144	79	65	12	—	12	3	1	2
1940	124	49	75	105	44	61	15	2	13	4	3	1
1941	123	59	64	102	55	47	20	4	16	1	—	1
1942	147	67	80	116	57	59	24	4	20	7	6	1
1943	135	56	79	118	54	64	17	2	15	—	—	—
1944	120	47	73	96	45	51	24	2	22	—	—	—
1945	117	41	76	90	37	53	26	4	22	1	—	1
1946	131	46	85	107	45	62	21	—	21	2	1	1
1947	152	42	110	128	40	88	23	2	21	1	—	1

¹ The tables for 1930-36 do not indicate the race of the offender, by type of crime.

It is unfortunate that the reports for 1930-36 do not permit an analysis of the race of the offender, by type of crime, but the 11 years for which this information is available are probably quite representative. During that period there were 220 executions for rape and of these only 23 involved whites. Of the 23 executions for other offences (the 6 espionage cases have been excepted), 9 were of whites and 14 of negroes.¹⁰

⁹ Before 1935, Mexicans were listed among the 'other races', but later they were classified as white. The author has adjusted the data for 1930-34 to make them agree with this policy. The fourteen Mexicans involved during those years have been placed in the column of 'whites'. This has had the effect also of making the number of foreign-born whites larger than that in the original reports.

¹⁰ The totals for murder, rape and other offences are 2,712 instead of 2,713, for in 1946 one negro was executed for whom the Census Bureau had no information as to his crime.

Only 18 of the 2,713 prisoners were women. In most of the annual reports there is no information on where their executions took place. Only 6 can be identified as having occurred in New York, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and California.

Although the annual reports would permit an analysis of the age distribution of those executed, by race, no special attention will be paid to these data in this brief article.

(4) *Trends in the Use of the Death Penalty.* During the last two decades certain trends are observable. (a) The death penalty has, in many states, been attached to kidnapping for ransom, or to kidnapping which results in bodily harm to the victim. This addition to the list of crimes punishable by death resulted from the public reaction to the famous Lindbergh case. Four executions occurred in 1936, 4 in 1938, 1 in 1939, and 3 in 1940.

(b) Considering the tremendous increase in the American population from 1930 to 1947—an increase from about 130 million to about 144 million inhabitants—it would at first appear as if the drop in the annual average of executions for murder from 150 in 1930-35 to 137 in 1936-41 and 93 in 1942-47 would mean a decline in the use of the death penalty. Execution rates computed on a population basis would of course show an even greater drop than the gross figures cited and would give a completely meaningless picture of the trends. The fact is that the homicide rates of the United States have shown a strong decline since 1933 until 1947 and only a moderate rise since then. Unfortunately these rates, drawn from mortality statistics, include murder, manslaughter, and justifiable homicides and it is impossible to arrive at any accurate estimate of the rate of homicides threatened by the death penalty, the only homicides which those who argue for the deterrent value of capital punishment should consider in this connection.

To arrive at a sounder judgment of execution trends we should be able to compute rates of executions on the basis of murders committed or at least of murders leading to conviction. Neither of these types of data are available. If we use homicides in general as a basis for comparison, we find that for each thousand homicides committed on the average each year during 1930-35 there were annually an average of 12.8 executions; during the period 1936-41 this execution ratio rose to 15, but dropped in 1942-47 to 12.2. Whether or not this downward trend will continue remains to be seen, for the rate for 1947 was again back at 15.

(c) It seems obvious from an examination of Table III that there has been an increase in the use of the death penalty for the crime of rape. Anyone who knows criminal statistics realizes that this does not necessarily mean that the offence of rape has increased correspondingly. In view of the concentration of executions for this crime in the Southern states we may

assume that the expanded use of the death penalty in this connection is a reflection of race conflicts rather than an indication of changes in the real rate of sex crimes.

(d) Efforts to abolish the death penalty in this or that state have not been wanting during the period studied, but they have proved fruitless. The reintroduction of capital punishment in both Kansas and South Dakota is evidence of this failure.

There is no justification for the death penalty on moral or ethical grounds and there is no evidence from statistics that it is a deterrent or serves any other utilitarian end that cannot be reached better by other methods of dealing with the offender. An examination of American data shows little evidence, however, of any disposition in the United States to abandon this archaic punishment so inconsistent with modern penological thinking.



It is often said, 'A prison pays no debts'; I am sure it may be added, that a prison mends no morals. Sir John Fielding observes that 'a criminal discharged—generally by the next sessions, after the execution of his comrades, becomes the head of a gang of his own raising'—improved, no doubt, in skill by the company he kept in gaol. And petty offenders who are committed to bridewell for a year or two, and spend that time, not in hard labour, but in idleness and wicked company, or are sent for that time to country gaols, generally grow desperate, and come out fitted for the perpetration of any villainy. Half the robberies committed in and about London, are planned in the prisons by that dreadful assemblage of criminals, and the number of idle people who visit them.—How contrary this to the intention of our laws with regard to petty offenders; which certainly is to correct and reform them!

JOHN HOWARD, 'The State of the Prisons', p. 8,
Everyman's Library.

Hearken, ye judges! There is another madness besides, and it is *before* the deed. Ah! ye have not gone deep enough into this soul!

NIETZSCHE: 'Thus spake Zarathustra: the pale criminal.' I.6.

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE WAKEFIELD PRISON POPULATION IN 1948¹

PART 1

By W. F. ROPER (WAKEFIELD)

THE NATURE OF THE SURVEY

The following is an account of some of the characteristics of the Wakefield Prison population in 1948. The survey was done as a by-product of clinical work and has gaps and imperfections which might have been avoided in a purely research undertaking. We should have liked to include more standards of an objective nature as well as clinical assessments and we should have liked to check our impressions by home visits and contact with relatives, but despite these omissions the results obtained are interesting and cover a field in which there is a dearth of information.

The procedure followed was to give every reception a thorough examination soon after his arrival and to take a full history of his career, checked by his criminal record, police reports and other documents.

The data obtained were then recorded on a profile under the following headings :

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Age at Conviction. | 15. Assessment of the Quality of the Early Home Environment. |
| 2. Classification for Work (as an indication of physical fitness). | 16. Present Sentence. |
| 3. Marital State. | 17. Nature of Present Offence. |
| 4. Number of Children. | 18. Military Record. |
| 5. Intelligence. | 19. Attitude towards Conviction and Sentence. |
| 6. Age at First Conviction. | 20. Psychiatric Classification. |
| 7. Number of Convictions. | 21. Personality Classification. |
| 8. Previous Approved School Detention. | 22. Cultural Class. |
| 9. Previous Borstal Detention. | 23. Wife Relationship. |
| 10. Previous Prison Sentences. | 24. Father Relationship. |
| 11. Mental Stability Rating. | 25. Mother Relationship. |
| 12. A Rating of the Expectation of his Return to Prison. | 26. Sibling Relationship. |
| 13. History of Previous Mental Treatment. | 27. Family Medical History. |
| 14. History of Venereal Disease. | 28. Personal Medical History. |
| | 29. Institutional Experience. |
| | 30. Committing Court. |

¹ I am indebted to the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article, but permission does not imply that it represents their views.

Owing to the heavy statistical work involved it is not possible to refer here to findings under the latter half of the headings, which have been more difficult to standardize. However, it is felt that a preliminary report is useful since the information concerned can only be obtained in a prison and may help to clarify some prevalent ideas about the nature and quality of the prison population.²

It has been possible to make the survey to some extent a comparative one by the introduction of a limited series of cases collected at Dartmoor Prison (mostly in 1943) and by a series of observations on Prison Officer Candidates who come to the Imperial Training School attached to Wakefield Prison for vocational selection. These candidates have to be examined somewhat comprehensively and have provided a useful check on the standards used in making clinical assessments. They do not, of course, supply a fair cross-section of the community since they are not sent for selection unless they are persons of good character and adequate personality. They are a fairly homogenous group of respectable and well-disciplined men and are probably better for our purpose than a random sample of the whole population since they provide good social norms without a tail of disreputable people on the one hand and of specially well educated people on the other.

In addition to the above groups, tables taken from the Criminal Statistics for 1947 and from the Prison Commissioners' report for the same year have been inserted where appropriate.

The number in the Wakefield series is 814 and in the Dartmoor series 614, both roughly the total daily population of the two prisons at the time of collection. The control group numbers 828.

GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE WAKEFIELD POPULATION

The prisoner group at Wakefield is a selected one, which consisted at the time of this survey of 'star' convicts and 'star' prisoners in equal proportions. The convicts were gathered from all over the country, the prisoners only from the North of England. 'Stars' are prisoners who have no previous sentences or who are considered to be so like this class in character as to deserve to be treated with them; 'convicts' were men serving sentences of three years penal servitude and upwards; 'prisoners' those serving periods of imprisonment (the limit of these at the time was two years). No one was sent to Wakefield with a sentence of less than a year.

Since the passing of the Criminal Justice Act, penal servitude has been abolished and imprisonment is the term used for all sentences of any length.

² It is hoped to publish the second part of Dr. Roper's survey in the course of the year (THE EDITORS).

TABLE I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAKEFIELD POPULATION COMPARED WITH OTHER CRIMINAL GROUPS AND WITH A CONTROL GROUP OF PRISON OFFICER CANDIDATES.

Category	Wakefield Prisoners	Dartmoor Prisoners	All Males Imprisoned for Indictable Offences 1946	All Males Convicted of Indictable Offences 1947	Prison Officer Candidates
<i>Total Number Involved</i>	814	656	20,537	99,714	828
1. <i>Age on Conviction or Examination</i>					
Under 21 years	9	1	18	45	—
21 years and under 30	44	29	37	23	41
30 years and under 40	28	38	23	16	49
40 years and over	19	32	22	16	10
Average age	32	36	31*	24*	31
2. <i>Sentences</i>					
2 years and under	53	—	92.1	—	—
3 years and under 5	28	55	6.3	—	—
5 years and over	19	45	1.6	—	—
3. <i>Number of Previous Convictions</i>					
None	50	2	27	—	—
1	25	3	12	—	—
2	10	6	10	—	—
3 or more	15	89	51	—	—
6-10	—	31	17	—	—
11-20	—	35	8	—	—
Over 20	—	5	3	—	—
4. <i>Age at First Conviction</i>					
Under 14 years	8	21	—	—	—
14-20	19	20	—	—	—
21-29	36	25	—	—	—
30-39	21	25	—	—	—
40 and over	16	9	—	—	—
5. <i>Approved School or Borstal Antecedents</i>					
Approved school	6	24	—	—	—
Borstal	1	30	—	—	—
5A. <i>Previous Prison Sentences</i>					
None	88	3	53	—	—
1	10	8	13	—	—
More than 1	2	89	34	—	—
6-10	—	31	7	—	—
11-20	—	22	3	—	—
Over 20	—	3	1	—	—
6. <i>Marital State</i>					
Single	35	43	—	—	21
Married or been married	65	57	—	—	79
Separated	14	—	—	—	1
Divorced	2	—	—	—	
Widower	3	—	—	—	
6A. <i>Number of Children of Married Men</i>					
None	17	28	—	—	27
1	28	30	—	—	37
2	23	21	—	—	26
3	16	9	—	—	7
4 or more	16	12	—	—	3
Total of married men	530	370	—	—	653
7. <i>Physical Condition</i>					
Fit for all work	90	—	—	—	100
Restricted manual work	9	—	—	—	—
Light work	1	—	—	—	—
8. <i>Intelligence</i>					
Superior	1	—	—	—	2
Definitely above average	4	—	—	—	28
Average	45	—	—	—	56
Definitely below average	32	—	—	—	10
Intellectually defective	18	—	—	—	4
Total graded	633	—	—	—	828
9. <i>Stability and Mental History</i>					
Unstable at times	26	—	—	—	6
Frequently unstable	3	—	—	—	—
Out-patient psychiatric treatment	10	—	—	—	3
In-patient psychiatric treatment	8	—	—	—	—
10. <i>Expectation of Recidivism</i>					
Unlikely to return	47	—	—	—	—
May possibly return	37	—	—	—	—
Will probably return	16	—	—	—	—

* Approximate. In percentages except where bold figures are used. Unfortunately, information on the Dartmoor group for items 7-10 is not available.

Since the open prison at Leyhill was started in 1946, Wakefield has fed it with the more reliable men from the convict population. This has meant a greater turnover of cases and a certain decline in the quality of the population left behind. This decline may continue as prisoners with the new Corrective Training sentences are received, but the standard still remains high compared with that of the ordinary general purpose prison.

It follows that a cross-section of the general prison population cannot be obtained at Wakefield. The place for such a survey would be a general purpose prison, through which all prisoners pass on first reception, but these prisons are so busy that such a survey is not, at the moment, practicable. These limitations have to be borne in mind in considering the data which follow. Since 1937 only 12 per cent. of the men who have passed through Wakefield have been reconvicted and it is these and other failures who require the greater attention, since most of the star offenders will mend their ways however they are treated.

AGE AT CONVICTION

The age of the Wakefield population is given under No. 1 of Table I. It is essential to give it because of the influence of the age factor on other factors to be mentioned ; but age also has an interest of its own in the natural history of crime.

Crime is essentially the solution of personal problems at a childish level of conduct either because basic attitudes have never developed beyond that level or because there has been regression to childish attitudes as a result of frustration.

It is natural for a young child to lie, to strike others, to intrude, to be indecent (if judged by adult standards) and to take the belongings of others, but no sensible person worries about these things because he knows that the child will, with proper training, grow out of them. Under the proper conditions the external control necessary at this stage will be internalized as self-control, and the child thus becomes socially reliable. But some children are not properly trained ; they do not abandon their early attitudes and they do not develop self-control. Some proceed directly into juvenile delinquency ; others manage some kind of makeshift self-control which may give way in later life when they are faced with that particular stress or temptation to which their early training, or lack of it, has left them vulnerable.

Generally speaking, the older one grows the less this vulnerability and it is not surprising that crime is predominantly a weakness of the young. Nearly half of all males convicted of indictable offences belong to the age group under twenty-one and, in the Wakefield series in which there are only a limited number of adolescents, the main group is that between twenty-one

and thirty. From then onwards there is a rapid tailing off which is also shown in the total population of males in prison, though not to the same extent because of a substantial proportion of habitual criminals who have become set in a criminal life-style.

Even in the habitual offenders, however, there is a tailing off after forty, as is shown in the Dartmoor figures. It is apparent that crime is something that people tend to grow out of as they mature and lose their childish attitudes. Some take longer to learn sense than others, but they mostly do in time, though there is a small tail of recidivists who seem never to learn. There is also a rather pathetic group of senile offenders, recruited rather late in life, who show regression in their declining years, and return to childish attitudes as a result.

In subsequent comparison with Prison Officer Candidates and with Dartmoor convicts the age distinction will have to be remembered. As against Dartmoor, the Wakefield group is younger ; there are more adolescents and fewer middle-aged and elderly men. With the candidates there are no adolescents and no elderly men, though the average age is much the same as that of the Wakefield group.

LENGTH OF SENTENCE

No. 2 of the Table shows distribution by length of sentence at Wakefield, Dartmoor and in the prisons generally. In 1947 Wakefield Prison took men with sentences of one year upwards, whilst the minimum at Dartmoor was three years. Approximately half of the Wakefield population had sentences of from one to two years ; nearly half the Dartmoor population had sentences of five years or more. For legal reasons sentences between two and three years did not occur.

This difference in the length of the sentences makes a considerable difference to the atmosphere of a prison irrespective of the character of the population. Long-term prisoners tend to concern themselves far more with getting what privileges they can within the institution, than do the middle-term prisoners. The latter are able to keep their attention more on the less distant future when they will be at large again. Consequently they can be better orientated towards the solution of their future problems.

A sentence of between two and four years, of which a third is remitted for good conduct, seems about right when treatment and training is the object. This is the term accepted for the newly created sentence of Corrective Training. With a much lesser term there is apt to be a feeling that prison is just something to be endured until release ; with a much longer term there is apt to be a feeling that comfort in prison is the thing that matters since release is so distant ; in either case there is a difficulty and the presence

of a large body of middle-term men at Wakefield has always been an advantage in keeping up the interest in training.

Many people of experience feel that the sentences of six months and under which are all that the Magistrates' Courts can usually inflict, are a mistake ; either the man does not need to come to prison at all or else he needs a longer term. Certainly consideration of the numerous short sentences given to the convicts at Dartmoor supports this point of view.

The small number of life sentences at Dartmoor is worth noting (1 per cent. as against 4 per cent. at Wakefield). Nearly all these sentences are commuted death sentences for murder and it shows that murder is not frequent amongst the Dartmoor type.

CRIMINAL RECORDS

(a) Number of Previous Convictions

No. 3 of the Table shows the number of previous convictions of men at Wakefield and Dartmoor compared with those of all men imprisoned for indictable offences in 1946.

Half of the Wakefield group have no previous convictions, but it does not follow that they are genuine first offenders ; many of them have had quite a long run before they have been caught. A quarter of the total prison population has no previous convictions but only 2 per cent. of the Dartmoor population.

At the other end of the scale only 15 per cent. of the Wakefield population have three convictions or more, and these will be men whose offences are small or who have shown a period of reform between convictions. The Dartmoor population is the complete reverse, with 89 per cent. who have had three or more previous convictions. The general prison population come in between and is made up of a quarter first offenders, one-third recidivists and the remainder in an intermediate position, many of them in process of graduation into habitual offenders. Probably rather over a half of the general prison population are habitual offenders or near-habituals who pass through the courts like a stage army, leaving prison only to offend again and reappear in court. The dismal length to which this process of re-conviction can go is shown by the long tail of Dartmoor convicts with multiple convictions.

The two great problems of reformation are how to stop the recruitment to this stage army and how to deal with the members of it in being. The prescription of the Criminal Justice Act is Corrective Training for the one and Preventive Detention for the other. It is hoped in this way to break the vicious circle and so relieve the police and the courts of a vast burden of work and the public of a great evil.

(b) Age at First Conviction

It has already been pointed out that crime is the result of a failure to solve difficulties in childhood ; it will be expected therefore, that the more intractable the criminal the earlier, as a rule, he will begin his operations. That this is so is shown up by the comparison in No. 4 of the Table between the Wakefield and the Dartmoor group.

In the Dartmoor group 41 per cent. have had their first conviction before the age of twenty-one years, as against 27 per cent. of the Wakefield group. Presumably the early difficulties were greater in the Dartmoor group.

In the Wakefield group the greatest entry is in the early twenties. Failure to adjust to the requirements of the Armed Forces, failure to adjust to civilian life after leaving the Forces and failure to meet the responsibilities of marriage are frequent precipitating factors in the break-down of self-control. In the Dartmoor men failure to adjust to the requirements of school and starting work is more in evidence, together with the general factor of the unrest of the adolescent and his tendency to strive for premature independence. The precipitating cause of a crime is often a change of circumstance operating on a faulty personality which is unable to adjust itself to the change.

(c) Previous Institutional Treatment

Nos. 5 and 5A show the incidence of previous institutional treatment. The number of Borstal and Approved School failures at Dartmoor is large, but there are few at Wakefield. When they occur they are likely to stick out like sore thumbs at Wakefield because of their perversity of reaction. They have become, as it were, immunized against kindness, which they tend to treat as weakness and exploit as such. Their handling has to be carefully judged in order to prevent this, since obviously no good is being done if they continue to treat sympathy as weakness. It is possible to get the right balance of firmness and kindness but it is a delicate one and takes much trouble. These difficult cases show that it is of major importance that every effort should be made to make initial treatment effective in order to prevent this immunization. What happens is that the man who fails rationalizes his failure and is forced into cynicism ; he develops, so to speak, antibodies against the treatment given him and is so much the better prepared to resist any further treatment of the same kind. Approved School and Borstal failure is always apt to be a serious matter.

With regard to prison sentences, Wakefield and Dartmoor show themselves at opposite poles, with the general prison population more or less in the centre. The fantastic number of sentences which could occur with recidivists under the old dispensation is shown in No. 5A of the Table.

There can be little doubt but that future generations will look back upon this curious procedure of putting recidivists in and out of prison at frequent intervals with something of the surprise with which we view the penal methods of the last century. It is to be hoped that the new sentence of Preventive Detention (five to fourteen years) will bring this odd situation to a close.

(d) Marital State and Children

Nos. 6 and 6A of the Table describe the situation for the two groups and for the control group. It must be remembered that the Dartmoor group is older than either of the other two so that more married men and more children might be expected. This expectation is not realized. There are more single men and fewer children.

Presumably the relative lack of children is accounted for by prolonged absence in prison, and this may also account for part of the excess of bachelors ; such men can hardly be useful husbands. However, many of these men do not want to marry and are cynical about it. They prefer frequent changes and loose associations. So do many in the Wakefield group, who show an excess of bachelors over the control group, after making allowance for the adolescents in the Wakefield group.

The most interesting point in the Wakefield group is that 16 per cent. are separated or divorced. Excluding bachelors this means that 25 per cent. of the marriages represented have been broken by separation or divorce. It is evident that either criminals do not make good husbands or that they choose bad wives. Actually both factors operate to produce this great disruption of married life. It is not apparent that conviction or imprisonment by itself breaks up the marriage ; most of them are doomed from the beginning. Unfortunately the figures for broken marriages in the Dartmoor group are not available. It is not thought that they would be any higher. If the criminal's wife decides to stick to him, she is very loyal and nothing makes much difference to her.

(e) Physical Condition

No. 7 of the Table shows the physical condition of the Wakefield population expressed in terms of fitness for work on reception. Quite a few of them who start with restrictions eventually have them removed as their health improves.

The chief interest of the table is to show that 99 per cent. of the Wakefield group are useful workers if they wish. They are not physically handicapped and the fact that many of them have little liking for ordinary work is a great loss to the state.

(f) Intelligence

The figures shown in No. 8 are interesting. They are obtained by group testing, using Raven's Progressive Matrices which were standardized in the Army. The lower scores amongst the prisoners were usually checked by individual tests and may be accepted as reliable.

The position is that 50 per cent. of the prisoners fell into the subnormal intelligence groups. The proportion of mental defectives was about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so that the figure is not weighted by such people. This inferiority exposes one of the basic difficulties of reformatory work. These dull men are socially ineffective and sluggish in reaction ; little can be done with them in a short time ; they have to be taken slowly and short sentences are entirely inappropriate.

Another implication of the dullness of half the population is that little can be done to them by the use of reasoning. It is a matter of steady effort and the accumulation of small gains in day-to-day handling together with a helpful group outlook. All the staff count and the lower ranks, who have the closest contact with the man, count most.

Formal psychotherapy is not possible for these dullards, though occupational methods can be used and short discussions with them have some value. But for the most part one has to rely upon opportunities which arise when they are sick or otherwise in need. If they have anxieties they are usually expressed in physical symptoms and they present themselves in the course of general medical practice. If their troubles are taken up when they present themselves, definite changes of attitude may occur ; they feel that they are being taken care of and are willing to change in order to please someone who has been kind to them. They are just children.

Unfortunately no figures for the Dartmoor group are available, but they would probably be somewhat similar. Many recidivists pass for being clever, but the cleverness is merely the cunning of a man who lives by his wits and who has studied deceit ; really intelligent men are rare.

(g) Stability and Mental History

The figures given in No. 9 are clinical assessments. It will be seen that the proportion of really unstable men is small ; the criminal protects himself by acting out his conflicts and does not become unstable unless repressed ; this is the reason why instability has declined so much in the modern non-repressive prison. Neurosis and criminality are, in many ways, the reverse of each other. The neurotic imprisons himself and punishes himself ; the criminal allows his lawless impulses to escape and is imprisoned and punished. Neurosis is uncommon in the prison population (see Table II A).

The figures in regard to mental history are given in No. 9. They would

be much smaller but for the treatment given to psychopaths in the Armed Forces during the war—there is little civilian treatment involved. Crime is not mental disorder though it springs from the same sources ; the criminal saves himself by letting himself go.

(h) *Expectation of Recidivism*

No. 10 shows the clinical assessments made at the reception interview. It was not found possible to re-assess on discharge (many are still in prison), but it is evident that the actual results are much more encouraging than the expectation at reception since, in the past, the ascertained non-return is 88 per cent. in all who have passed through Wakefield since 1937. What seems to happen is that the doubtfuls pass into the non-return group during their training and the 16 per cent. expectation of return may be about right in future, taking into consideration the transfer of many of the best men to the open prison at Leyhill.

It is difficult to give a comprehensive list of the criteria used in the assessment. The opinion of the Governor and Assistant Governors is taken into consideration and the assessment is a combined one. The main factor to take into account is the attitude of the prisoner towards conviction and sentence. Acceptance with regret is the really promising attitude ; some hostility is not amiss since it can be reversed ; the worst attitude is that of indifference.

It will be of special importance to be able to identify likely recidivists since they are the unsolved problem and it is a matter of much regret that more could not be done in the investigation of the Dartmoor cases. However, the problem of the prevention of recidivism is not primarily a prison

TABLE II. EARLY HOME CONDITIONS

<i>Character of Early Home</i>	<i>Wakefield Prisoners with no previous convictions</i>	<i>All Wakefield Prisoners</i>	<i>Wakefield Prisoners with one or more previous convictions</i>	<i>The Upper 25 % of Officer Candidates</i>	<i>All Officer Candidates</i>	<i>The Lower 30 % of Officer Candidates</i>
1. Apparently good .	6	4	2	76	52	33
2. Some adverse factors . . .	55	48	40	23	41	55
3. Definitely adverse.	37	45	53	1	7	12
4. Very bad . . .	2	3	5	0	0	0
Total Numbers .	312	599	287	208	828	248

In percentages except for total figures

TABLE IIA. SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRISONERS COMING FROM VERY BAD AND DEFINITELY ADVERSE EARLY HOMES AND THE REMAINDER

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Definitely Adverse Homes</i>	<i>Remainder</i>
Total Numbers	289	310
Age at conviction: Under 21	5	3
21-29	54	46
Age at first conviction: Under 14	14	3
14-16	15	7
Previous convictions: None	43	61
One	23	22
More than one	34	17
Previous sentences: Approved school	5	1
Borstal	2	0
Prison	17	9
Offences (other than sexual) involving violence to the person	23	14
Sexual offenders	16	15
Expectation of reconviction: Unlikely	30	57
Possible	43	35
Probable	27	8
Marital state: Single	43	34
Married or widower	40	50
Divorced or separated	17	16
Conflict with wife of significant degree	34	35
Intelligence: Definitely below average	31	25
Intellectually defective	19	17
Positive mental history obtained	16	16
Some instability found	30	24
Psychiatric classifications: Dullard	36	28
Psychopath	12	4
Neurotic	3	7

In percentages except for total figures

problem. The trouble is that these men are mostly men who belong to criminal groups, to which they will return on release. Unless these groups can be broken up they will always breed new criminals and prevent the

reform of those who return to them from prison. The longer sentences of Preventive Detention may help in this way.

However, it does not do to be too pessimistic. It used to be computed in pre-war days that 40 per cent. of the Dartmoor prisoners did not return. It would be interesting to be able to follow these men up and find out why they did not return.

(i) Early Home Conditions

The most interesting and significant of all the enquiries so far has proved to be that into the early home conditions. In the nature of things it is impossible to inspect these homes in the case of adults, and one has to see these through the prisoners' eyes ; so what one gets is the prisoner's view of his home, checked to some extent by documentary evidence. There is, of course, some misrepresentation ; but, with experience, one can usually get behind this to what seems the essential situation, and, in any case, it is the prisoner's maladjustment in which we are interested and he is the best witness to that.

The homes so viewed were divided into four categories. The best was that in which no adverse factors appeared. This held 4 per cent. of the prisoners and 52 per cent. of the controls. The second was that in which there were some adverse factors but they were not of such a degree as to lead one to believe that most children would not have compensated for them. This held 48 per cent. of the criminals and 41 per cent. of the controls. The third group was that in which the home was definitely adverse to proper development ; this held 45 per cent. of the criminals and 7 per cent. of the controls. The last group, in which the homes were deplorable, held 3 per cent. of the criminals and none of the controls.

Adverse factors include such things as illegitimacy, broken homes, extreme poverty, loss of parents and the like, but these obvious factors are not the sole ones. Just as important were factors such as hostility to parents or siblings, spoiling and a feeling of being unwanted. Many homes which seem adequate from the outside are very much the reverse from the inside and undue indulgence is a much more sinister factor than undue severity. It is, of course, quite possible to throw off the influence of an adverse early environment, as the 7 per cent. of the control group did, usually by joining the Army as boys or by the influence of people outside the family.

Whatever the defects of assessing the home in our way, we appear to have struck norms which divide the prisoner group fairly neatly into two nearly equal groups, the further characteristics of which are shown in Table IIA. This shows the almost uniform inferiority of the men in the two poorer home groups. They come younger to Wakefield, they were first

convicted earlier, they had more previous convictions and sentences. There is a significant excess of proneness to combine personal violence with dishonesty and there are more in the recidivist group. There are more dullards amongst them and more psychopaths. The accumulation of all these points is impressive support to the hypothesis that the quality of the early home is a major factor in criminality.

It will be seen that there are more neurotics in the group with better homes and we have already noted that neurosis and crime are to some extent the reverse of each other. There is no difference in the proportion of sexual offenders, in the presence of a positive mental history or in the incidence of marital strife.

Reverting to Table II and comparing the groups there, it will be seen that the prisoners with no previous convictions came from better homes than did those with previous convictions, who were presumably the less hopeful cases. Similarly, in the control group, the more acceptable candidates came from the better homes. It seems impossible to escape the general conclusion that the quality of the man depends to a significant degree upon the quality of his early environment.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary of the facts lies in the tables given ; the series is a small one on which to found conclusions, but the generalizations suggested for further examination are :

(1) That criminality is essentially the persistence of immature attitudes and that it therefore declines with age unless fixed by other factors such as aggregation to criminal groups.

(2) That this persistence of immature attitudes is due to faulty home training, which is, therefore, a major factor in the production of criminality.

(3) That the term ' faulty home ' applies not only to homes which are economically and morally debased or plainly broken, but also to homes unable to provide a consistent social training suited to the temperament of the child.

(4) That home faults tend to have a persistently deleterious effect whether they lead to crime or not. In a phrase, the better the early home, the better the man and *vice versa*.

(5) That the greater the criminality and the worse the home, the greater the prospect of an early entry into crime and a longer persistence in it.

(6) That the man from a faulty home tends to recreate faults in his own home, when he comes to found one, and thus hands evil down the generations.

(7) That criminality and neurosis, though they spring from the same

factor of early maladjustment, are to some extent opposites. The neurotic hurts himself by attempting to control his persistently immature urges. The criminal hurts others by not controlling them.

(8) That provided the environment is not repressive, the proportion of unstable criminals is not large.

(9) That subnormal intelligence is a significant factor in the production of criminality and that it favours recidivism. It also constitutes a difficulty in the treatment of criminals.

(10) That it is greatly to be hoped that the new sentences of Corrective Training and Preventive Detention will terminate the old system of often-repeated convictions and short sentences.



The notion, that convicts are ungovernable, is certainly erroneous. There is a mode of managing some of the most desperate with ease to yourself, and advantage to them. Many of them are shrewd and sensible: manage them with calmness, yet with steadiness: show them that you have humanity, and that you aim to make them useful members of society: let them see and hear the rules and orders of the prison, and be convinced that they are not defrauded in their provisions or clothes by contractors or gaolers.

JOHN HOWARD. 'The State of the Prisons', p. 40,
Everyman's Library.

With children, it is easy to perceive that they are often 'naughty' on purpose to provoke punishment, and are quiet and contented after the chastisement. Later analytic investigation can often find a trace of the guilty feelings which bid them seek for punishment. Among adult criminals one must probably except those who transgress without any sense of guilt, who either have developed no moral inhibitions or consider themselves justified in their deed by their conflict with society. But in the majority of other criminals, those for whom punitive measures are really designed, such a motivation might very well be present, casting light on many obscure points in the psychology of the criminal, and furnishing punishment with a new psychological basis.

SIGMUND FREUD: 'Character-types in Psycho-analytic Work.'
(*Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, Hogarth Press.)

DOROTHY: THE PSYCHO-ANALYSIS OF A CASE OF STEALING

By HEDWIG SCHWARZ (LONDON)

The case described below is that of a girl of nineteen whom I treated from March, 1945, until April, 1946. Treatment was undertaken in order to determine whether the standard technique of psycho-analysis as applied in cases of psycho-neuroses can be used successfully in the treatment of delinquents, or at least in certain types of delinquency. The case was selected for this specific purpose by a consulting psychiatrist of the I.S.T.D., to which I was attached.

Dorothy was then on probation for the third time. She had been committed to Sessions for Borstal sentence ; but had been given a further chance on probation, provided she would submit to a six months' training at a Hostel in the suburbs of London. This was more or less a sentence of confinement, as the girls in the Hostel were not allowed to go out except under supervision to attend religious service. Special permission had to be obtained for Dorothy to come once a week to the Clinic for treatment, and during the first weeks she was accompanied by a Probation Officer. I decided to use this period of six months (about sixteen sessions) as an introductory phase during which I could prepare Dorothy for the idea of treatment and also discover for myself whether she was suitable for psycho-analysis proper.

Reading Dorothy's case papers, I found a long list of charges involving stealing and pilfering. At the age of twelve she had taken a bottle of milk from the doorway of a block of flats and was put on probation for the first time. A fortnight after her probation started, she was evacuated at the suggestion of the Bench as it was thought that the poverty of the family was responsible for her stealing. She was sent to a good billet where she stole a wrist-watch, beads and a powder-puff from the foster-mother's dressing-table. This incident did not come before the Court and the foster-mother agreed to keep Dorothy. A fortnight later, she stole one and sixpence from a teacher's handbag and was then removed to a hostel for difficult children in the district. The report of this hostel, written during her stay there, very vaguely stated that ' there is still reason to suspect that Dorothy's pilfering is going on ; but there is no definite proof.' At the age of fourteen, according to the Probation Officer, Dorothy insisted on leaving the hostel ; she returned home and had various jobs as an office-girl, in a laundry, and the like. After her younger brother was killed in an air-raid Dorothy and

her mother were evacuated once more to the country. She was charged again, this time for stealing savings stamps from her billet. Placed on probation for the second time, Dorothy and her mother returned to London and she took up a new job. Three months later Dorothy was before the Court again on four charges of stealing cash, a fountain-pen, a ring and a coat from a fellow-employee. This led to her third probation order. This time she was taken into custody and remanded in prison. After her hearing she was given a further chance on condition of residence in a Hostel.

I studied the list of thefts to see whether there was any symbolic connecting link between the articles stolen, and read through the social history to find if there was any clue to the dramatic story of continual stealing. I found that Dorothy was the only girl among five children, two brothers being older and two younger than herself.¹ The family circumstances were very poor; her father had been wounded in the First World War and became a permanent invalid when Dorothy was eight years old. Her mother went out to work and was the mainstay of the family, the father doing the housework, or at least helping with it. He died on Dorothy's seventeenth birthday. Only in the last two years of his life, because of the shortage of man-power, was he able to earn money again in a light occupation; and it was said that he spent most of his money on presents for Dorothy. This was all the information in my possession before meeting Dorothy for the first time.

I found her to be a good-looking, modest girl, at first very shy and difficult to talk to. She stated that she was unhappy in the Hostel and this, together with her complaints about the bad condition of her daily life, made it easier for her to confide in me. It was not difficult to make it clear to her that I was on her side and to give her the feeling that I wanted to help her without indulging in any reproaches. The Hostel workers, Dorothy alleged, never stopped rubbing it into the girls how bad they were and how justified was their punishment. I also helped Dorothy by providing material, paints, knitting wool and the like to counteract the boredom of her 'leisure hours' in the Hostel. Dorothy refused to take any money from her mother except for stamps, and I soon came to understand that she accepted her punishment willingly. She worked so hard in the Hostel, first at domestic tasks and subsequently when promoted to outdoor work, in the garden, that she soon became the 'top girl' and was allowed to come to the Clinic without an escort. She told me of the repeated runnings-away of the other girls, but would never have dreamed of doing anything of the kind herself. She seemed

¹ Much later I learnt from Dorothy that there was also one sister, but much older than herself and married so early that she was not in the circle of the younger children when Dorothy was a little girl.

to have one aim in mind—to make good and return to her mother as quickly as possible. She refused her Probation Officer's suggestion that, after the six months remand in the special Hostel she should go to an ordinary hostel and receive training in dressmaking or some other trade. She said she knew that her mother was waiting for her money and she wanted to start earning again as quickly as possible. Her two elder brothers were in the Services, and her widowed mother, who had to look after her youngest brother, still at school, could only do part-time work. When talking about these matters, Dorothy seemed the most conscientious and sensible of daughters. Her ardent wish to return to her mother was used by me to gain her co-operation in coming for extensive treatment after the introductory period. I offered to persuade the Probation Officer to let her go home on condition that she, Dorothy, would agree to analytic treatment. I also persuaded the Probation Officer to find her a job in the vicinity of my consulting room, and in that way to make it very obvious to Dorothy that the Probation Officer was also most interested in her continuing the analysis and trying to make it easy for her to attend. Dorothy then started work as a cleaner.

By so doing I had acted, not like an analyst treating an adult patient, but much more as analysts proceed in child treatment (1), where an introductory phase is needed to establish a positive relationship between child and analyst and where the child is made aware of his difficulties and the need for treatment, but where the practical arrangement (payment, time, journey) is made the responsibility of the parents or other adults in charge of the young patient. Dealing with delinquents who have a personality structure not unlike that of a child (weak ego and super-ego which cannot cope with the instinctual demands and tend to repeat abnormal behaviour patterns), we cannot expect the delinquent patient himself suddenly to become a responsible and reliable person capable of making his own arrangements; very often, I think, we have to resort to unorthodox methods, e.g. bribing the delinquent into coming, or threatening him with possible consequences if he refuses, or again using both methods alternately so that we get a chance to begin treatment and to make the patient dependent enough on us to accept our help. Probation, in my view, offers a very good basis of agreement between patient and analyst, especially when treatment is made a condition of probation. At the commencement of her analysis proper I prevailed on Dorothy to attend very regularly (four times a week). She was co-operative in accepting the technical rules of analytic treatment, and talked freely about the present and the past. In this way I learnt a great deal about her childhood and was able to understand the mechanisms governing her behaviour.

The first time Dorothy lay down on the couch, she told me, after a few

preliminary remarks, that her earliest memory of taking anything was when she was very young. She saw another little girl with a doll's pram in which there was a black doll. She snatched the doll out of the pram and took it home. She was, of course, made to give it back. I said something to the effect that little girls often want to have babies like their mothers. She immediately started to talk about her two younger brothers and how she used to hit them. She then came back to the incident with the doll and said she felt so attracted because it was a black doll. To my great surprise, she added in her very shy and halting way that some members of her family had very dark skins, for instance, her elder sister, of whose existence I then heard for the first time, and her two younger brothers. She herself had a specially fair and rosy complexion but always wished for a dark one. The dark members of the family she found very attractive, herself very plain. The problems touched upon in this first session contain the main conflict of Dorothy's development, her jealousy of and rivalry with the mother and at least one essential emotional factor in her stealing. Asked about her approximate age when the incident of the black doll occurred, Dorothy could not give a definite reply but said that she was very young, just beginning to go to school. As her youngest brother was born when she was five, we can safely assume that her jealousy at his birth occurring at the height of her *Œdipus* phase aroused a special emotional upheaval in the little girl. She must have been a very uncontrolled child at that time as she remembered walking with her mother through the park and upsetting prams with such rapid movements that it was impossible to forestall her. She said that no punishment could check her. She had to throw the babies out. Dorothy had retained a marked dislike of prams and never took her nephew and niece out in a pram, in spite of the inconvenience involved. She had very strong guilt feelings about the way she treated her two younger brothers who often were left in her care, and sometimes said she should have been killed by a bomb in place of her younger brother, who was so much better than herself. Especially during her time in the Hostel, she often used to say that he would not have disgraced her mother the way she had done. She also insisted that her mother should tell the brothers, including the youngest at home, of her stealing and why she was detained. In the nursery where she worked, Dorothy was first of all very much in favour of very strict treatment of the infants, including hitting and smacking them. Gradually, and in course of expressing more and more of her aggressive wishes, she grew more understanding. After a year's treatment she wrote to me in a letter: 'I can't bear the children crying. It makes me cry.'

All along, I had been struck by Dorothy's intelligent attitude during treatment, and her ability to put her ideas into words (she wrote excellent

letters), which were in marked contrast to the results of her intelligence test: her I.Q. was given as only 85. Subsequently I learnt from her that she had suffered from deafness in one ear from the age of four and had had to undergo a mastoid operation involving much pain and ear-ache in early childhood. She never confessed to her deafness but pretended to hear when she did not, and was therefore greatly handicapped in her school work unless sitting in the front row. She had not even told the Probation Officer who commented on her slow way of responding when addressed. I came to understand that this secretiveness was bound up with Dorothy's childish belief that her illness and her pains were a punishment for sexual activities which, because of their forbidden nature, had to be kept secret. Dorothy was also left-handed and had, unfortunately, for the first two years of her school career been under a teacher who forced her to write with her right hand.² She was a very unruly child at school and frequently got into trouble for going into the boys' playground.

Trying to reconstruct her early development, I found that Dorothy was in constant conflict between her feminine and her masculine wishes. Competing with the mother for her father's love ended in the great disappointment of the mother giving birth to two babies, while Dorothy was not even allowed the black doll and made to give it back to its rightful owner. This she found a most humiliating experience. We have seen that Dorothy first of all expressed her hatred of the mother's babies in an openly aggressive form (upsetting prams) and also that she took advantage of the absence of the mother to be very aggressive towards her own two younger brothers. With the customary decrease of conflict in latency, and certainly influenced by her parents' obvious disapproval of her hostility, she turned her jealousy of the boys into a permanent attempt to compete with them. She fought and climbed trees like the boys, and one of her early recollections is of a scene in which she attacked her elder brother with a hot poker because he threatened to tell the mother that he had again seen Dorothy hanging on a lorry. At the time when she stole the milk, which, incidentally she wanted for a picnic with some boys, Dorothy, then twelve years old, had begun to contribute to the family income. She built herself a cart on which she wheeled firewood, collected by herself, and sold it for a few pence. She regularly visited a block of flats where her customers often gave her presents, such as old clothes, which were very welcome to the family. On one of these rounds she stole the milk and was caught by the porter.

² It often seems to me that children whose left-handedness is interfered with react to this procedure with so much resentment because they regard it unconsciously as a restriction of their masturbatory activities.

Menstruation, as so frequently happens, must have put a stop to her boyish ambitions and turned them back to the original wish to enjoy the same advantages as her mother and elder sister. But her wishes for feminine adornment were still under the influence of the early unsolved conflict with the mother and had therefore the compulsive character of a neurotic symptom. Whenever Dorothy was caught stealing money, and questioned regarding her motive, she almost invariably replied: 'To buy clothes', or sometimes: 'To buy a dance frock'. Reviewing the thefts now from that point of view and in the light of the detailed accounts given during treatment, we may recall that the powder puff, wrist watch and beads were stolen from the dressing-table of the foster-mother who was a childless woman showered with presents by her husband and, of course, very much envied by Dorothy. Another very important clue to Dorothy's behaviour emerged when she told me more about this incident. It was only because of the fact that the foster-father had to be away for a few days that Dorothy was allowed to sleep in the foster-mother's bedroom as a special treat. This situation must have increased her envy just at a point when she was treated in a kindly way. The stealing then served two purposes: obtaining possession of the envied objects and gratifying the wish for punishment. This wish for punishment played a very great part in Dorothy's case and I was often inclined to place her in the category of the 'criminal from a sense of guilt' (2). It was also expressed in the clumsiness with which she committed her thefts; she was always caught and always succeeded in making people call in the police. Whoever would expect a child of twelve to be handed over to the police for stealing a bottle of milk? And how could it otherwise be explained that, when caught stealing the coat and ring in the laundry and being asked to return the stolen articles before nine the next morning, failing which the police would be called in, Dorothy arrived ten minutes late—too late for the charge to be dropped. The most impressive incident of this kind occurred during treatment, and will be recounted when considering the development of Dorothy's relationship to me in the transference situation.

Returning to Dorothy's thefts; having been forgiven by the foster-mother, she took money from her teacher's handbag. And here it may be observed that in every case the victim of the theft was a woman, and almost invariably a woman in a superior or enviable position (mother figure). The coat and the ring in the laundry were taken from a girl who had boasted that both objects had been given her by her generous boy friend who did not mind how much money he spent on her. In the Nursery, too, Dorothy stole exclusively from the Matron and not from the other workers, although circumstances often favoured the latter possibility. The fact that this

Matron was engaged and that her fiancé often visited the Nursery is a not unimportant additional link to the mother figure who is envied most of all for the love shown to her by the father. I learnt from Dorothy that when, after the stealing of the milk, she was first put on probation, her father tried to prevent her stealing again by imploring her not to do so and by trying to give her all the things she seemed to want. When he was earning again he tried to fulfil her every wish, but instead of enjoying the presents she lost interest in them and gave the things away to others. It was as if she would have expressed the feeling that whatever he gave her was not what she really wanted from him. At the same time Dorothy must have felt very guilty over this favouritism, which was strongly criticized by her mother in spite of the fact that the father always explained that he did it all to keep her from stealing.

After the father's death, when Dorothy was thrown together with her mother, she again tried to express herself in the masculine rôle. She was now looking after the mother; the mother and the youngest brother needed *her* money; she behaved towards the mother like a good husband, always doing the hard work (and it must not be forgotten that Dorothy's father was doing the housework at home during the years of unemployment); and very much wanting to run the mother's life. But she did not allow herself to compete with the mother as a woman. It was interesting to watch how the mother submitted to this assumed rôle on the part of the daughter. One day, for instance, Dorothy rearranged all the furniture during her mother's absence and her mother left it like that. In her nursery job, too, Dorothy found a way of expressing her family conflicts. She was terribly jealous in her work and most upset when Matron one day announced that she had employed a man for the roughest work. What could a man do that she could not, Dorothy asked. She criticized the man most harshly: she could do everything much better. The handyman used to joke with Dorothy, did her little favours, and one day laughingly said that he could not sleep the night before for thinking about her. When a week later the handyman's wife appeared to protest to the Matron that her husband had to work such long hours, Dorothy overheard a slightly excited discussion in the Matron's room, and was convinced that the wife had come to complain about her (Dorothy's) attempts to 'get off' with her husband.

As I described at the beginning of this paper, Dorothy's relationship to me was first of all a positive one. I gave her little presents and helped her to go home to her mother as she wished. When she began her proper analytic treatment, I explained to her that I would not continue as before but would from now onwards help her to understand herself and in that way enable her to avoid repeating the criminal actions. Being the psycho-

logical type of 'sinner from a sense of guilt' she always accepted her punishment and could never imagine that the effect of the punishment would wear off and that she would repeat the same pattern. 'Now that I know better', she used to say, 'I will never take anything again.' Very slowly was I able to show her the repetitive pattern of her behaviour. Her resistance grew. From the 'good father' who fulfilled her wishes and tried to keep her from doing wrong, I turned into a frustrating person who forced her to come to treatment, to give me all her thoughts, and to face her infantile conflicts. She began to pester me with the monotonous question: How long will I have to come. Will I have to come until my two years' probation is finished? In vain did I try to explain to her that it did not matter whether the course of treatment coincided with her probation or not and that she should look upon it as an opportunity of learning to understand her own behaviour and that only the treatment could help her to finish her probation without another relapse. I secured her release from regular reporting visits to the Probation Officer partly because Dorothy complained that she did not know what to talk about to her, and partly to show Dorothy that all responsibility for her problems was now concentrated in the treatment. I thought her growing insight would make her accept the treatment as what it really was, but I had under-estimated the strength of her guilt feelings, her need for punishment and the fact that during the treating of delinquents 'acting-out' takes place so quickly that the therapist often tries in vain to keep abreast of the patient's actions. I also expected a reaction to the switch-over from giving her material help to giving treatment alone. This aroused great frustration in Dorothy, who began to complain a good deal about the long journey involved and how she suffered in the tube, always wishing she could jump out or do something. This, incidentally, was the first mention of her fear of passivity. I interpreted her grumbling as resistance to the analytic situation, to lying down on the couch and to the fact that she was asked to talk about her thoughts but not to act. I did not know that the stealing had already come into the analytic situation and that she stole copies of *Picture Post* from my waiting room. As a matter of interest it was *Picture Post* that I had sent to her when she was in the remand home. She now continued to take it. Her envy of my possessions had set in, and instead of her good and weak father I had become her envied and forbidding mother. 'What a lot of books', she had exclaimed, on entering my consulting room for the first time. When I discovered that she was taking *Picture Post* I did not immediately tell Dorothy of my discovery but, according to analytic rules, waited to see how and when she would tell me about it.

I should have foreseen that instead of telling me she would punish herself,

as she always did, by being caught for something else. When, a few days later, I decided to tell Dorothy that I knew of the thefts, it was too late to prevent her giving expression to her need of punishment. She did not seem embarrassed but said that she had been unable to get *Picture Post* and that she wanted to send it on to her boy friend in the Air Force, who liked it so much. My interpretation that she was disappointed that I had stopped giving her things she rejected too vehemently. Yet she brought a dream in which I took her to a big store and showed her lovely clothes, especially jackets (I was wearing a new jacket at the time). After the next session, Dorothy produced a notice to appear at the Police Court for travelling without a ticket. She had received this summons several days earlier and had carried it round in her pocket without mentioning it in analysis; both the misdeed and the provoked punishment had had to be kept secret from me. It took me a long time to assess and reconstruct what had actually happened. When all came out, I was deeply impressed with the strength of Dorothy's need for punishment and the unconscious determination with which she must have acted. Because, incredible as it may seem, she had succeeded in making a ticket collector stop her on the eve of VJ Day, when the whole town was pervaded by joyful excitement and an extraordinarily carefree and gay attitude. She must indeed have behaved conspicuously to arouse his suspicion. She had really come from treatment and should have got a four-penny ticket on the underground. Being afraid of crowds (another form of her fear of passivity, that she would be swept away by a stream of people without being able to move), she did not join the crowd waiting for tickets but rushed into the train. When asked for her ticket at her destination and where she came from, she did not tell the truth, saying instead she had come from an intermediate station which happens also to link with a main line. She offered to pay three-halfpence, and behaved so guiltily and suspiciously that the ticket collector thought she had come from the main line station and had dodged buying a ticket for a long journey. Dorothy's behaviour during the hearing of the case proved beyond doubt her wish for punishment. She pleaded guilty, did not defend herself, and accepted a fine of ten shillings without a murmur. Needless to say she did not produce in court a letter which I gave her certifying that she had actually made the shorter journey, that she had left me only twenty minutes before she was caught, and that she was afraid of crowds and was trying to get home quickly.

In the interval before the police court hearing, I had an opportunity to study another important feature of Dorothy's delinquent behaviour. She felt at such times that she was the centre of an exciting scene which gave her an opportunity to appear in public. She saw herself in dreams

singing at a big concert, or with police cars coming at her from all directions ; in another dream a policeman tried to overpower her and she screamed at him till she woke. In this last dream we have the clearest connection between Dorothy's sexual wishes (to be, like her mother, overpowered by her father) and her guilt feelings about these wishes. She was permitted to enjoy and satisfy her feminine wishes only in the form of punishment. I discovered during treatment that her mother gave birth to the two younger brothers at home, also how much Dorothy resented her mother's confinements, and being kept away from them ; and how she had hated the natural fuss around the mother at these times. Might the word 'confinement' be a bridge between these experiences of birth and Dorothy's tendency to get confined ? Her screaming at the policeman in her dream could represent another detail of a fantasy in which she is in the rôle of the envied mother. It would also explain the serenity, even happiness, which Dorothy showed during her confinement—a sexualization of the punishment situation.

During the treatment I had another opportunity of showing Dorothy the strength of her guilt feelings towards her mother. Instead of wanting things impulsively, which had so often led to her thefts, she began to plan her wardrobe and the buying of clothes she badly needed. She earned good money, but not only did she give her mother a bigger weekly contribution than the one prescribed by the Probation Officer, but whenever she managed to save enough money to buy a coat or dress, she was impelled to buy something that she felt her mother needed. Or she would buy presents for her sister's children and then buy for herself something cheaper and less attractive than she really wanted. Gradually I was able to show her that this being 'so good' was directly connected with suddenly and apparently unexpectedly doing something 'so bad'. I often jokingly said to her that she would not have to be so good if she did not feel so bad, and *vice versa*.

Her ambivalence against the mother became more and more pronounced and she was often very moody and difficult at home. With boys she was very forbidding and unfriendly. She said she did not care about them : they were a nuisance. The Nursery often gave parties to which members of the services were invited. Dorothy was very much in demand but discouraged all advances. This had always been her attitude. Before going into the hostel she had met a young airman, Tom, who was very much interested in her and wanted her to become engaged to him. One day he accompanied her home and tried to kiss her. She sat down the next day and wrote him, saying that she did not want to have anything more to do with him and that he should look for another girl. She showed me his reply, in which he said that he could not understand her and that he was extremely disappointed. Whilst in the remand home she wrote to his mother to find out where he

was and began to exchange letters with him. He was at that time on service abroad. When Dorothy had been in treatment with me for about a year, Tom was given a home-posting—he was the only son of a widowed mother—and twice came to visit Dorothy. By this time we had analysed in great detail her hysterical fears of a passive (feminine) situation and I had succeeded in making her conscious of the underlying *wish* for sexual gratification. We discussed the problem of masturbation, the coming and going of sexual tension, her fantasies of being caught, overwhelmed, made helpless; also her fears of being a woman like her mother, and of having children like her. She was by then much less afraid of Tom and of her own feelings for him, and she enjoyed his affection and attention. Tom wanted an official engagement but Dorothy's mother said she, Dorothy, could not possibly get engaged while on probation. (I understood later that she was most anxious to keep Dorothy at home as long as possible because of the financial help she received from her.) Tom sent Dorothy a substantial sum of money for an engagement ring, which she did not touch but kept intact, saying in a truly feminine way that she wanted him to buy and give her the ring, not to buy it herself. Dorothy then received an invitation from Tom's mother to come and pay them a visit at their home in a country town in the North of England. Everything was arranged very sensibly. Dorothy got leave, saved enough money for her fares, bought herself a nice dress and went off happily. But after the holiday she did not turn up at the arranged time. I rang up her employers. They, too, had not heard from her. After a fortnight I received a letter from Dorothy telling me that Tom's mother was ill and wanted Dorothy to stay on with her, that Tom had gone back to his unit and that she would try to find a job in his hometown. Dorothy begged me to try and persuade her mother to let her have her ration book and her clothes. I concluded that Dorothy in that way had taken revenge on her mother and on me by letting us both down when we least expected it.

Her mother was furious and refused to have anything more to do with Dorothy. Dorothy and I exchanged many letters, but she always advanced some reason or another to justify staying where she was. When she wrote that she did not feel well and did not know what to do, I decided to go and see her myself. Two weeks later, after discussing the situation with the Probation Officer I undertook the lengthy journey in order to try and persuade her to return for the remaining four months of her probation, and to offer her a place in a hostel should her mother stick to her decision to have nothing more to do with her. Dorothy met me at the station as arranged and seemed very pleased to see me. She looked pale but not worried. She seemed now as concerned about Tom's mother as she had

previously been about her own ; but it seemed as if the past did not exist or as if it had no more importance for her. She told me that Tom was allowed home on alternate week-ends and that he was coming that evening. I asked her to send him to my hotel on Sunday morning to have a talk with me, giving her a solemn promise that I would not tell him anything about her previous difficulties, saying only that she had been in psychological treatment with me. Next morning he appeared punctually at the hotel. He was a serious, good-looking, young man who immediately started talking about himself, telling me how shy he had always been with girls. That was all changed, he said, when he met Dorothy. He loved her so much that he could not bear the idea of her going back to London : would I please understand that and not persuade her to go—he would do anything to make her happy. He was very sincere and extremely naive. I asked him whether he had made any arrangements about marrying Dorothy and he said that that was not so simple ; he had first to get permission for marriage leave. We discussed all the steps necessary for an early marriage and I promised to do my best to get Dorothy's mother to give her consent. When I suggested that all this would be so much easier if Dorothy came back to London now, he broke down and begged me to let her stay. A little later Dorothy joined us and when I left in the afternoon they both seemed blissfully happy.

Back in London I discussed the matter with the Probation Officer and she suggested that Dorothy should write regularly to me and also come to London every three weeks to report to the Probation Service. I got one or two very nice detailed letters from Dorothy in which she told me that she had a part-time job as a domestic help in a very well-to-do family. Shortly before she was due to come to London for the first visit to the Probation Officer, I received a desperate letter from Tom telling me that Dorothy was remanded in prison for stealing an old dress from the lady who employed her. Once more the same set-up : her mother had refused to send Dorothy her clothes ; so she took them from a mother figure, from her employer. The dress she took had been put aside with other old clothes by the employer to be given away to poor people. Again the extraordinary situation that this comparatively trivial theft was at once reported to the police. As usual, Dorothy punished herself by now having to confess all her misdeeds to Tom; who could not understand her taking the old dress when she could have asked him to give her the money for a new one. It was not too difficult to show him that with the help of this action Dorothy had forced herself, in her usual dramatic way, to tell him the whole truth. His generous understanding and forgiveness proved him to have a nature similar to that of Dorothy's father.

The external situation was now extremely difficult, as this theft meant a break of Dorothy's third probation. A report of the whole case was sent to the local Bench, explaining the psychological aspect of Dorothy's thefts. We also told the magistrate about the marriage, the date of which had, in the meantime, been fixed. Tom appeared in Court and solemnly promised the magistrate to accept responsibility for Dorothy. Once more Dorothy enjoyed her little bit of limelight ; her case appeared in the local paper with conspicuous headlines. The wedding was arranged in London and Dorothy's mother and her elder brothers, who were at this time back from service abroad, accepted Dorothy back into the family circle with Tom. They both paid me a visit after the wedding, and thanked me profusely for the help I had given them. From then onwards I got regular but very conventional letters from Dorothy, one at Christmas and a card or a letter on an occasional holiday. Once she wrote : ' . . . I have not got much to write about to you when I write, the only things I know are about Tom and myself and I mustn't share those secrets with anyone only between ourselves. . . . '

Dorothy kept a job all the time to save money for a home of their own. She wrote that they did not want a baby for a few years. Last Christmas, the third of their married life, I got a card, written by Tom, sending me Christmas greetings from ' Tom, Dorothy and Baby Barbara. '

Summary and Conclusions. A number of problems arise in this case : did Dorothy prove suitable for analytic treatment or not ; was she helped by the treatment ; what was the diagnosis and prognosis of the case ?

There is no doubt that the analysis proved once more the possibility of understanding delinquent actions psycho-analytically. In Dorothy's case we have analysed the development of the stealing, beginning in her Œdipus phase, the envy she felt of her mother, and the overwhelming anger and aggression she turned against the younger brothers, who not only were rivals for the parents' love but were also thought by her to be more favoured by the mother because they were boys. In particular, the arrival of the youngest brother when she was five, a time when the stormy conflicts of the Œdipus phase should have merged into the usual steadiness of the latency period, must have thrown Dorothy back into the turmoil of her childhood conflicts and jealousies. The normal outcome of the Œdipus phase for a little girl is a final identification with the mother, her sexual wishes being turned into affection for both parents and canalized in the wish to please them by growing up and fulfilling their educational demands. Instead, Dorothy took refuge in denial, behaving as if she were a boy, being

stubborn and aggressive and unwilling to behave like a girl. Puberty as usual brought a re-awakening and repetition of the unsolved early childhood conflicts. We do not know whether any stealing took place between the age of five and the time of the milk incident when she was twelve ; but we can assume that, by successfully repressing her conflicts and denying the reality of her femininity, Dorothy got along during this period without any need to act out her envy. From the onset of puberty, we find in her a constant and periodical alternation between stealing from a mother figure and punishing herself.

The analytic treatment made the conflict with the mother conscious, but did not last long enough to secure a gradual and mature detachment from the mother. Instead, the wish to hurt the mother was acted out, and at the same time Tom's mother was adopted as a new mother figure. The relationship with me, too, was broken off by Dorothy and the transference situation acted out instead of being analysed. My continued concern to help her, manifested in my travelling to see her and my agreeing to have a secret with her, to the exclusion of Tom, may easily have aroused her old guilt feelings over similar situations in childhood and may have been partly responsible for her last delinquent act.

Acting-out is the crux of all delinquent cases. Whether the tendency to act-out conflicts (delinquent or perverted behaviour) instead of internalizing them (neurotic symptom formation) is due to an innate weakness of ego structure or to early traumatic experience (3) cannot at present be ascertained. Attempts have been made (4) to isolate certain common elements in the family situation of delinquents ; such as, a weak father and a harsh and strict mother ; contradictory principles of education exercised over the child by each parent ; the illness of a parent ; early separation from the mother (5). The truth is that we find the same settings in the history of neurotic patients as well.

One feature of Dorothy's case was of special interest to me and would have been worth while investigating had I been able to do so ; viz. her early illnesses. It seems quite likely to me that a child who at an early age (I do not know how early) has suffered great pain (in this case mastoiditis) or has had to undergo an operation (the mastoid operation which took place before she started school) might become specially incapable of suffering frustration and might confuse illness with punishment. The weak ego of the young child being overwhelmed by experience of severe pain, might not progress as steadily as it ought to in developing control and mastery over instinctual drives. Confusion between pain and punishment also influences the formation of the super-ego which, under such circumstances, often becomes sexualized and hence does not act as a restricting power.

The excitement felt during crime *and* punishment drives the delinquent into his criminal actions instead of keeping him from them. The alternation between crime and punishment could be correlated with periods of growing sexual excitement culminating in the delinquent act. In the wide sense in which Fenichel describes traumatic events, Dorothy, in the light of her early illnesses, could be regarded as the type of person who acts out a conflict as a repetition of early traumatic experiences and prefers to act them out instead of remembering the painful situations in which the ego felt so helpless.

Regarding the technical aspects of analysing delinquent cases, we must, I think, accept their ego and super-ego structure as being different from that of neurotic cases, and we must use their acting-out as analytic material produced like a symptom under the force of the repetition compulsion. Skill in treating delinquents analytically will then lie in the analyst's capacity to foresee when such acting-out is likely to take place, to forestall it if possible or, at least, to predict it to the patient, or even, as Aichhorn did in certain cases, to provoke such acting-out and lead the delinquent to certain dramatic emotional upheavals (6).

I feel that in Dorothy's case (my first experimental analysis of a delinquent) I began treatment in the right technical setting but later on relied too much on the kind of therapeutic situation to which we are accustomed when treating neurotic patients, namely, the transference relationship which binds the patient closely to the analyst. No neurotic patient would have broken off treatment where Dorothy did. I should have insisted that her treatment should last at least as long as her probation, and should not have trusted to her own insight to continue the treatment as long as necessary.

Yet, I think the treatment, as far as it went, did help Dorothy: it made her conscious of certain conflicts of which she had no idea before the analysis. It is not unlikely that without the treatment Dorothy would have broken her third probation as she had the first and second. To have kept a girl like Dorothy out of prison was certainly worth the effort. Nor would she, I think, have been able to allow herself sexual gratification as she did by her marriage; in all probability she would have continued to act out her sexual frustration and envy in delinquent acts.

If my analytic interpretation of Dorothy's stealing is correct, her condition can be diagnosed as a character disturbance resulting from an unsolved Œdipus conflict, with consequent defect of super-ego development (7).

Lastly, as to the prognosis of such cases in general and of Dorothy's in particular. I do not think that through analysis we can really alter the weakness of the ego. What we can do is to make such patients aware of their reactions to frustration and temptation. Dorothy has now reached

the position which originally caused her to envy her mother so much. This situation is, however, one which is legitimate for her and should not arouse in her the old guilt feelings. Her childhood conflicts have been analysed and her insight into her own problems will certainly influence her attitude to her own children.

I have often asked myself whether the same result could have been achieved in less time and with less effort on my part. Dorothy had, after all, some 150–200 analytic sessions. The impression I have formed from subsequent experience of many delinquent cases, some in analytic treatment, others in short treatment of one weekly session, is that only in analytic treatment proper can one achieve full psychological understanding of a case and, more important still, make the patient aware of the unconscious meaning of his delinquent actions. Although the length of time necessary for this is rather discouraging, it does, I think, prove in the long run more economical than attempts at short cuts.

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Our system of dealing with criminals has not escaped criticism and has not borne it well. Like all systems, it is based largely on the assumption that men are, or ought to be, of one pattern. It is charged with failing to reform those who come under its sway; but there is nothing to show that it was designed for their reformation.

JAMES DEVON: 'The Criminal and the Community.'

THE CRIMINOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF STOCKHOLM

By OLOF KINBERG (STOCKHOLM)

Through the initiative of the former ministers of the Crown, T. Bergquist and K. Schlyter, and the author of this paper, the Institute was founded in 1946. Its scope is to further and pursue scientific research in the field of criminology and to publish the conclusions arrived at. The Institute belongs to the University of Stockholm, whose Vice-Chancellor, Professor S. Tunberg, is the chairman of its board. The Director of the Institute is O. Kinberg and the Vice-Director Dr. Gunnar Inghe.

The Institute gets no direct subvention from the state, but it receives grants for special purposes from the Medical and Sociological Research Councils. Thus it receives subsidies from the Medical Sub-Committee for Alcoholic Research in order to make a study of the causes, treatment and prevention of drunkenness in car driving. This study has been going on since 1947. It comprises a thorough medical, psychological, psychiatric, and sociological examination of a great number of persons convicted of being drunk in charge of a car with a view to determining the composition of this group and the factors responsible for the delinquency. Although the collection of data is far from complete, a preliminary survey of the clinical material has led to some provisional conclusions of great interest.

The department for anti-alcoholic measures in the Social Board registers all cases of alcoholism that have been under treatment in public institutions for alcoholics in Sweden. The number for the period 1936-1946 is 15,313; among these, 195 persons (1.2 per cent) have been sentenced for drunkenness whilst driving a car. Thus a certain number of these delinquents are more or less chronic alcoholics. Among 10,054 cases submitted to mental examination during trial in 1936-46, 77 have been prosecuted for drunkenness while driving a car. In some cases this offence has been associated with ordinary delinquency. Up to now 75 persons convicted of this offence have been examined. A rather large percentage show mental deficiency or brain lesions with mental illness of different kinds (alcoholic dementia or other kinds of mental diseases, schizophrenia, mental disorders following traumatic head injuries, etc.).

The psychological reactions to the punishment inflicted are very interesting. Most of the offenders are quite sure that their driving capacity when they have taken even considerable quantities of alcohol is as good as,

if not better than, when they are sober. Many of them consider themselves unjustly prosecuted, victims of absurd laws and false and arbitrary evidence. I am not inclined to advance the theory that the delinquents' own appraisal of the laws under which they are convicted should decide whether these laws are good or bad. But I am convinced that if delinquents have these reactions to the law and to the procedure leading to their conviction, the individual preventive effect of their punishment is liable to be rather doubtful. The study of this type of delinquent is not yet completed.

Another study going on at the Institute concerns the topographical distribution of delinquency in Stockholm. The practical object of this study is to find out how to use more adequately the measures provided for in the law of conditional sentence (probation) in order to prevent relapsing into delinquency.

Dr. Inghe is making an investigation on the causes of poverty, based on very comprehensive examination of material collected at the various social institutions of Stockholm.

Among the studies made at the Institute and already published, Dr. Inghe is the author of 'Psycho-sociological Aspects of Vagrancy and Prostitution' (1949) and 'The Clientele in the Workhouses' (1949). O. Kinberg has published a study on 'The Treatment of Alcoholic Delinquents' (1949). Other studies made at the Institute are: 'The Concept of Psychopathy and the Treatment of So-called Psychopaths' (1946), 'Le problème sociologique de la sécurité économique' (1947), 'Le droit de punir' (1948), 'Forensic Psychiatry without Metaphysic' (1949), 'The Method and Tasks of Forensic Psychiatry in Criminal Policy' (1949) by O. Kinberg, and 'Alcoholism' (1949) by H. Knöös.

Grants from the Sociological Research Council have been applied for in order to investigate the Reliability of Social Prognosis, based on about 500 cases mentally examined by O. Kinberg during trial.

The forerunner of the Criminological Institute is 'The Central Criminological Archives' founded in 1934 by O. Kinberg. It consists of all cases where accused persons have been mentally examined. Through generous grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, O. Kinberg and his pupils have published a number of criminological studies on the material of the Archives: 'Sex Delinquents' (1934), 'Why does Conditional Sentence so often give Bad Results?' (1938), 'De la morale phénomène social objective' (1939) by O. Kinberg; 'The Practice of Forensic Psychiatry' (1938) by G. Inghe; 'The Sociological and Psychopathological Aspects of Embezzlement' (1942) by O. Kinberg and Sv. Riemer; 'Incest as a Sociological Problem' (1937) by Sv. Riemer; 'The Incest Problem in Sweden' (1943), a monography based on 100 cases, by O. Kinberg, G. Inghe

and Sv. Riemer. Several other criminological studies have been started, but have not been carried out through lack of funds.

At present there seems to be a rise of delinquency in this country, especially in serious crimes against the person (assassination, murder, sexual offences, embezzlement of large sums, burglaries with the use of dynamite, etc.).

Hitherto no serious investigation has been made of the causes of this rise, which is the more disquieting as one had reason to expect a fall of the crime rate similar to that occurring during and after the first world war. Moreover, during the interval between the two great wars serious efforts have been made to improve the laws and to rationalize the methods of institutional and non-institutional treatment of delinquents. But as long as our insight into the causes of delinquency is superficial and erroneous, law-making and improvement of practical measures of criminal policy must needs be based on guesswork and preconceived ideas. Hence the result of such efforts can scarcely be expected to be satisfactory.

It has been calculated that the cost of crime in Sweden amounts to something between fifty and one hundred million Swedish crowns a year. This estimate may be too small or too large. In any case it is certain that society suffers very heavy social and moral damage through crime and that an incalculable amount of human suffering of every kind is originated by crime. It is indeed astonishing that those in power have not yet realized that crime is a most serious problem, the more so as criminals nowadays can exploit scientific discoveries and technical inventions in a way that can be disastrous not only to private persons but to nations. Science has taught us that adequate means to prevent undesirable events presuppose a thorough knowledge of their causes. The practical consequences of the realization of this ought to be that parliaments and governments stimulate and support such investigations. With rare exceptions this is not the case. It is no wonder therefore that private philanthropy that gives enormous sums of money to the immediate relief of human suffering has not yet recognized the necessity to finance investigations in the field of delinquency. Yet there is no doubt that such investigations would repay the outlay an hundred-fold.

Le milieu social est le bouillon de culture de la criminalité; le microbe, c'est le criminel, un élément qui n'a d'importance que le jour où il trouve le bouillon qui le fait fermenter. . . Les Sociétés ont les criminels qu'elles méritent.

A. LACASSAGNE,

Congrès d'Anthropologie Criminelle de Rome, 1886.

(Actes du Premier Congrès International d'Anthropologie Criminelle, p. 166.)

THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY¹

By HEINRICH MENG (BASEL) and PAUL REIWALD (GENEVA)

I. PREFACE

Prevention of delinquency should be approached from three different standpoints, viz. (1) Economic, (2) Social, (3) Psychological.

(1) Undoubtedly the economic standard in all countries should be raised to the point where living conditions which are inconsonant with human dignity should cease to exist even at the lowest subsistence levels. This alone, however, would not produce the desired result since it is a fact that in times of crisis delinquency tends to diminish, and that the number of young delinquents from well-to-do families is astonishingly large (Cyril Burt, André Repond). The cause of the present high rate of delinquency does therefore not lie in economic hardships alone.

(2) A number of social evils exist which call urgently for recognition and suitable measures of prevention. It should be remembered that there are still countries where child-marriage is practised or where marriage is a commercial contract. There is, moreover, particularly in large cities, a high percentage of illegitimate children of mothers from fourteen to nineteen years of age. It is obvious that such environmental conditions endanger the individual and can give rise to criminal tendencies in persons whose heredity is not abnormal.

(3) Great strides have recently been made in the prevention of delinquency by applying a psychology of crime based upon the findings of psycho-analysis. By tracing asocial behaviour to its unconscious sources, conclusions have been reached which are essential for the prevention and treatment of delinquency. Contributions to this field of research have been made by outstanding sociologists and psychologists.

II. STATES OF NEGLECT²

Investigations made from economic, social and psychological angles have proved that delinquency is nearly always the result of a 'state of neglect'. By this term we mean two things: (a) absence of mental and

¹ Translated by Gerta Balg.

² *Translator's Note*: the German term 'Verwahrlosung' expresses a state produced by neglect and by mental, moral and physical squalor. In their definition, Meng and Reiwald stretch the meaning still further, thus making its rendering into English still more difficult. In view of the use of the word 'neglect' in recent parliamentary debates and articles in the Press, it has been adopted here, although 'neglectedness' (of people in need of care and protection) would be a more faithful translation. Cf. Aichhorn's 'Verwahrloste Jugend' ('Wayward Youth').

moral maturity as measured by the average social understanding of a particular age-group, and (b) the asocial attitude resulting therefrom. States of neglect occur particularly frequently where education has failed, either in the family or in the community. This applies equally to sexual education which, although an essential prerequisite to growing-up, is still alarmingly inadequate. Prevention of states of neglect must have two aims: (i) it must strengthen those inner forces which enable the young to become socially and ethically integrated members of society; (ii) it must protect society and yet teach it to respect individual character development. It is obvious that states of neglect have always existed and, if we assume that they are due to a lack of maturity, we may be certain that they will continue to exist. The present high rate of states of neglect and delinquency must, however, be attributed to special factors. Two world wars have destroyed moral and ethical principles to such an extent and political, social, economic and cultural conditions are changing at such a rate that a relatively large number of people either never attain any mental stability or lose it rapidly.

III. DELINQUENCY AND NEUROSIS

Investigations and, in particular, analyses of serious asocial cases have led to the conclusion that where there is no active deviation from normal development there is no crime. For example, when Healy and Bronner compared the development of 105 asocial persons with that of their socially adjusted brothers and sisters, they discovered serious emotional disturbances in 96 of the former group; similar disturbances were discovered in only 13 of the socially adjusted group. Even in the remaining 9 cases Healy and Bronner in no way denied the presence of such affective disturbances, concluding however that social causes predominated.

Most impressive descriptions of faulty emotional development are found in Alexander and Healy's analyses of the worst gangster types and in the hypno-analysis of an asocial juvenile by Robert Lindner who succeeded in tracing this deviation from normal development back to its origin ('Urszene').³

But even if we correlate the growth of asocial tendencies with definite 'emotional troubles' of the same or a similar nature to those which at a later stage lead to a neurotic conflict, we are still not in a position to explain why in one case the outcome is a neurosis and in the other asocial conduct develops; we can explain the 'choice' of asocial conduct just as little as we can explain the 'option' of a neurosis. One might make the general

³ The 'Urszene', or 'Primal Scene', in psycho-analytical writings refers to the traumatic experience of witnessing parental coitus during infancy: it also includes traumatic phantasies concerning parental coitus which have undergone repression.—ED.

assumption that among the poorer classes sexual repressions are far less powerful than among the well-to-do, while their aggressiveness is more strongly developed on account of their social position. According to this view the poor are more inclined to choose a 'way out into crime' while the rich 'choose' a neurosis. Hugo Staub has actually called delinquency the neurosis of the little man.

But even such a rough distinction should be made only with great caution. The connection between crime and neurosis is extremely close. A neurosis of clinical dimensions is to be found in an appreciable though not easily calculable number of criminals. The main characteristic of the overwhelming majority of criminals, however, is an abnormal emotional state without recognisable neurotic features. By abnormal emotional state we mean an absence of that mental and moral balance which enables the individual to resist both the pressure of society and protests from within, at any rate while the crime is being committed. This emotional tension, like the urge which leads to the formation of neurotic symptoms, dates back to childhood, when affect rules supreme over reason and conscience, both of which are then only in their formative stage. Whereas in normal social development intellectual and moral forces catch up with earlier emotional development they do not do so in the case of neurotics and criminals. This fact, together with a lack of balance between the Id, the Ego and the Super-Ego lie at the root of the abnormal state of the emotions.

IV. PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY AND NEUROSIS

It follows from the above that individual prevention of delinquency is part of the general prevention of neurosis and character disturbances. The strong attachment which binds the child or the adolescent to those who educate him never fails to provide him with a pleasure-premium every time he submits to the educative process. The decisive factor for normal development of the instincts is the educator's skill in making a wise use during the early stages of his education of the child's fear of punishment and hope of love. Abnormal states of anxiety result from an excessively stern upbringing and severe punishment as well as from excessive indulgence. Both policies stimulate in the child an abnormal tendency to tyrannize first over his parents and later over society. This group of 'wrongly-brought-up' children produces numerous crooks, rebels and asocial types. A closer investigation of the environment often reveals the fact that unhappy marital relations between the parents have frustrated a 'Nest feeling' in infancy and disturbed mental harmony at later stages. By advising and enlightening the parents, preventive hygiene can do much to save a child from unhappiness,

neglect and a warped development. Parental guidance can thereby become an essential means of crime prevention.

A psychology based on sociological and biological data leads inevitably to the conclusion that in the evolution of the asocial character environment and individual development are of incomparably greater significance than innate tendencies. This discovery acts as one of the strongest incentives to organize preventive measures. For if Lombroso's theory of the born criminal were true or even neo-Lombrosianism as practised in the U.S.A., with its body and skull measurements, endocrinological investigations and the like, prevention of crime on a psychological basis would have hardly any prospect of success. It would be faced with a diseased heritage which could not possibly be tackled by sociological means.

The conclusions which have led us to attempt to develop preventive treatment of crime have been gathered from numerous experiences made while practising psycho-therapy among representatives of different social levels. The close connection between the social and the psychological situation appears particularly clearly in the case of mothers who provoke hatred, defiance and aggression in their children by their exaggerated severity in matters of cleanliness but who are driven to do so by their own warped development and narrow social milieu.

The reshuffling of entire social layers, the modern migrations of peoples, the vast number of orphans or semi-orphans, the inability of many parents to educate by their own good example, the object lessons of the post-war terror, the physical hardships of millions, the abolition of legal norms, the lack of ethical or genuine religious values, the anarchic insecurity in many countries, the decay of the family and its proneness to neurosis, all these factors increase the amount of latent neglect and the probability of its outbreak. Neither welfare organizations nor psycho-hygienic and special pedagogic institutions are able to cope with the magnitude of the danger and the distress.

But above all mankind is not in a condition to deal with it. The attitude of the broad masses who satisfy their interests in crime by following sensational trials and prison scandals, by enjoying crime books and crime films, has hardly risen above the level which existed at the time of the penal reforms in the early 1880's. Conscious and unconscious hatred against the criminal is still violent, while understanding and love are only found in a few outstanding educationalists and in some rare institutions the existence and achievements of which, like A. S. Neill's 'dreadful school' in England, arouse more indignation and disapproval than readiness to welcome them.

In these circumstances neither the findings of psychology nor the experience gathered over years of educational work have spread very widely.

The ideas embodied in penal laws for juveniles which aim no longer at punishment but at treatment find but little and timid practical application and hardly count in the penal code for adults.

Nor does public opinion encourage a sufficient number of suitable people to devote themselves to the education and transformation of asocial individuals. During a recent Gallup poll in Britain 73 per cent. voted against the abolition of the death penalty, and hatred and violence, which in the course of thousands of years have failed to change the law-breaker, are to continue in future to determine the relationship between society and the criminal.

Nevertheless, the efforts made to bring about a fundamental change in this relationship are on the increase and so is their success. The following example comes from the U.S.A. (Cleveland, Ohio), which suffer from serious, widespread and particularly aggressive forms of delinquency :

‘ By the concerted action of the police, the teaching profession, juvenile courts, welfare officers and youth leaders, the number of juvenile delinquents in Cleveland was reduced by 62 per cent. It was decided to make the police authorities invite to a dinner all the young ringleaders known to the committee. After some reluctance they all accepted. The Director of Public Security made a friendly speech and asked the young guests who were all, without exception, involved in theft and even in blackmail and robberies, whether they could explain why in the districts where they lived the number of punishable offences was three times as high as in other parts of the town. After some hesitation there followed a discussion during which many of the ringleaders declared they wanted suitable amenities for their leisure hours, e.g. swimming baths, tennis courts, baseball fields and gymnasiums. They also needed “ a little pocket-money and some opportunity for adventure ”, as one of them frankly put it. Some members of the police promised to do all they could provided the boys co-operated. The police authorities then applied to industry and thanks to their good connections succeeded in obtaining industrial work for 200 boys, among them all the ringleaders, willing to co-operate, and their most active friends. Months have passed since this experiment began and the boys have almost without exception maintained a high standard of conduct. They have formed a society of their own, the “ South Side Improvement Club ”, which soon managed to organize vocational courses and cultural activities supported by the municipal and educational authorities. According to a club rule all members who are earning must pay a monthly contribution from their savings towards a common fund to prevent them from resorting to robbery in times of unemployment. The influence of those boys in the poor districts of Cleveland was so remarkable that the decrease in assault and other offences made it possible to close down five police stations and to hand over their premises to youth organizations with a membership of over 3,000.’

This example, to which many more could be added, is not only significant for its successful handling of asocial individuals, but quite as important as

an illustration of the 'education of educationalists' without which no prevention of delinquency is possible. Perhaps the whole task of preventing delinquency could be summed up as an application of the Christian commandment of love. One of the most important achievements of modern psychology is the discovery that criminal tendencies are usually the result of an unsatisfied or insufficiently satisfied and misdirected need of affection in early childhood and that without compensation for this loss of affection there can be no change of an asocial into a social character. That was the line taken by Aichhorn and by all modern educationalists worthy of the name. A child can bear material want more easily than lack of affection ; but it must always be remembered that poverty and the consequent social difficulties of the parents are apt to make it impossible for them to give the child that measure of love which he needs as vitally as food.

V. THE PREVENTION OF WAR

An essential condition for the prevention of crime is the abolition of war. Children brought up with hatred and violence are likely to become willing victims of dictators, while those brought up with affection and non-violence do not lend themselves readily to such abuses. Our wars are waged with the support of that latent and open aggressiveness which governs our education, wielding the stick as its visible sign.

It is rare nowadays to find a system of education capable of dispensing with the hatred of parents and teachers against children. On the contrary, many educators use a system of punishment based on the ancient principle 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'. Although there must be punishment now as in the past, it should never be retributive. If it is to have any meaning or effect it should be applied by someone whose own mind and character have been trained, who is, above all, free from any desire for power and revenge. He must love his children in the true sense of the word. A punishment inflicted by someone whose emotions are under control will only bear fruit if there is a positive emotional affinity between the educator and the learner, whether mother and child, or teacher and pupil. It goes without saying that on such a basis there can be no question of corporal punishment which has never had any good results as is proved by the experience of all great educators. If we realize how powerful and challenging is the magnetic influence exercised by every sado-masochistic, aggressive individual and all reckless conquerors on their environment and, in particular, on unstable, neglected and delinquent persons, it becomes obvious why the right kind of education is of the utmost importance not only for the individual concerned. Moreover, the number of 'inhibited criminals' who have merely lacked courage to commit a crime is extremely

large and corresponds to the great number of people who are suffering from so much self-denial, oppression and inhibition that their latent aggressiveness becomes a world danger in the age of the atom bomb.

Another serious source of aggression is the mental state of many who are caught up by modern techniques of production, particularly workers stationed along conveyor lines, where it is almost impossible for any human being to sublimate and satisfy his affects, his love and aggressiveness, by work. This emotional starvation, the desire for real life, cannot be fed with substitutes, with Hollywood films, mass-meetings and crime stories. Should such a state of mind be further aggravated by severe material hardships or a real or imaginary menace from without, it only needs some suggestive influence to make essentially peace-loving people join even an atomic war with enthusiasm. One of the most serious and incalculable consequences of the present cold war is the fact that it keeps collective projections of the crudest kind alive on both sides. Each sees the world divided not only into East and West but also into Black and White. It was this fact which so seriously discredited the first international attempt to inflict punishment at Nürnberg (though, of course, in a still very imperfect form). If collective aggression could be justified on any grounds, it could only be in dealing with an international law-breaker. But this purpose which, it was hoped, could be achieved by the trials of war criminals, has, for the time being, become entirely obscured. At the moment there is nothing left for international politics but to oppose power with power. The democracies must remain armed, despite the serious and perhaps catastrophic consequences which this may have for democracy.

But while it may seem impossible, at the moment, to do anything effective towards the abolition of hatred and aggressiveness, the democratic individual must nevertheless exert all his strength to overcome their power within his own heart. For this purpose he will find boundless scope in education and in the prevention of delinquency. He need not fear that he may thereby weaken the will of people to maintain themselves in the international field. Although even in the modern democracies there is still a danger that men may suddenly become the abject slaves of unruly emotions such as hatred and aggressiveness, yet a man who knows and controls his emotions will still stand up for himself better than another who lives under a tyranny and whose emotional life is shamefully exploited by his rulers.

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NOTE ON ATTENDANCE CENTRES FOR YOUNG OFFENDERS

Under the Criminal Justice Act, young first offenders between the ages of twelve and twenty-one, whose delinquencies call for measures of supervision and training short of being sent to an Approved School, can be ordered to attend Centres where they will be kept under disciplinary supervision and at the same time be given training in physical exercises, sports, handicrafts and various hobbies. The maximum attendance demanded is twelve hours in sessions varying from one to three hours. By varying the length of the session, the course could be completed in four weeks or extended to twelve weeks at one hour per week. Attendance will not interfere with school hours, work or evening classes. For details see Sect. 19, C.J.A.

Experimental centres are being developed in Hull, Smethwick and London. In Hull part of an existing Remand Home is being adapted for the purpose and in Smethwick the former single men's quarters at the Central Police Headquarters. In the light of the experience gained in the first two years, licences to build special centres will be granted other authorities.

PUBLIC OPINION AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

By P. D. SCOTT (LONDON)

This is an account of the analysis of 500 British Press cuttings collected in the first six months of 1949. The criterion for inclusion was the expression of an opinion on the cause or treatment of juvenile delinquency.

The object was to learn what is put before the public in the newspapers and to draw conclusions.

It was thought that this material may not represent a true cross-section of public opinion owing to the factors of editorial selection, specific personality-types seeking newspaper publicity, and partial or mis-reporting. The latter factor is not likely to be great as it was found that 74·4 per cent. of contributions were 'signed' articles or letters.

THE SOURCES OF OPINION

These ranged from members of the Royal Family to humble citizens, from high army officials to school teachers, from Justices of the Peace to juvenile delinquents themselves.

The contributors fell into five groups :

(1) The biggest was composed of journalists and writers to correspondence columns, 32·3 per cent. and 23·7 per cent. respectively.

(2) Police officials, mostly chief constables, giving their annual reports, 5·7 per cent. Over twice as many chief constables gave their opinions as psychiatrists and psychologists considered together.

(3) J.P.s, the clergy, teachers and politicians, probation officers and members of local councils each contributed between 4·5 per cent. and 3·5 per cent., there being a slight downward gradient in the order given.

(4) Psychiatrists and psychologists (together), social workers, youth workers (including approved school personnel) contributed a little over 2 per cent. each ; lawyers and prison officials 1 per cent. each. It is members of this fourth group who could usefully increase their contribution.

(5) A miscellaneous group in which no category rose as far as 1 per cent.

THE OPINIONS GIVEN

The opinions were very varied, ranging from the feeding of more oranges to delinquents, to the urging of economic reforms. They can be grouped as follows :

(1) 2·4 per cent. considered juvenile delinquency a natural or 'almost desirable' phenomenon.

(2) 4 per cent. thought it was due to inborn factors.

(3) Of environmental factors outside the home, 23 per cent. blamed lack of basic necessities (living space, food, income) ; 21·4 per cent. inadequate opportunities to 'let off steam', to play, to mix socially ; 12 per cent. bad immediate environmental influence (films, pools, cafes, high wages, bad companions) ; 9·5 per cent. the aftermath of war.

(4) Factors within the home. Broken homes 11·2 per cent. ; failure of parents in example, affection or responsibility 49 per cent. 17 per cent. recommended that the parents should primarily be dealt with and gave eight different methods of doing so.

(5) Modern social trends. 33·9 per cent. indicted 'the swing of the pendulum', 'reaction to Victorianism', 'malaise of society', 'governmental coddling'.

(6) 5·9 per cent. attacked the schools.

(7) 12 per cent. wanted religious revival or more religious teaching.

(8) As to direct deterrence, 35 per cent. asked for greater punishment, firmness and retribution for young offenders. A small voice of 1·2 per cent. held the opposite view. There was a strong move towards allowing the publication of the names of juvenile court cases (11·3 per cent). 18·5 per cent. criticized the juvenile courts, usually for 'softness'.

(9) 19·6 per cent. wanted more efficient corrective methods in approved schools, borstals, the probation system and the special social services. 12·5 per cent. asked for more use of psychological methods, while 5·8 per cent. vehemently held the opposite view.

(10) Only 14·8 per cent. mentioned prevention in any of its forms. 5·9 per cent. asked for experiment or research and only 1·8 per cent. appeared to recognize the importance of the early formative years on subsequent juvenile crime.

OBSERVATIONS

The level of interest amongst the general community concerning this problem is very high. In no other half-year would it have been possible to collect so many opinions from the public press. The increase in public interest is quite out of proportion to the relatively small increase in juvenile crime. This interest is of course encouraging, but carries with it a risk of its own in that action might be prematurely taken, under pressure of public opinion, before the proper direction for the effort is known. I do not refer here to such action as providing basic needs (adequate living space, playing space and meeting space), for these things no more constitute a treatment for juvenile delinquency than does the provision of daily bread.

The majority of contributors seemed to be giving an honest opinion,

although some obvious axe-grinding was apparent. The high suggestibility of some contributors, notably speakers at public meetings, was apparent. Thus, after the publication of an opinion by a prominent person (by no means always an authority), the same opinion would be borrowed by speakers all round the country for a short while. Bowdlerism was commonly observed.

The outstanding finding was the astonishing variety of opinions given and the fact that, in the great majority of cases, each contributor seemed certain that his own was the correct answer. There was no hesitation in stating dogmatically not only the cause, but the cure. Facts, figures and scientific methods were very rarely used. It is worth recording that the majority considered that there is an 'answer' to juvenile delinquency.

With very few exceptions, and invariably in the case of popular opinions, a directly opposite view could be discovered amongst the material. For example, the clubs for young people were considered not only essential but also a menace, psychological methods were useful and dangerous, there was to be more use of the stick and less direct punishment. This, as in any other sphere, must necessarily imply lack of knowledge, wide variations in the material studied, or both.

The artificiality of the term juvenile delinquency was not generally appreciated; delinquents were referred to as a homogeneous group. Individuals did not hesitate to recommend, for general adoption, plans and methods based on experience with limited material. Thus for many the prototype was clearly the contributor himself in his own childhood; in others the contributor's children, the schoolmaster's class of boys drawn from a particular district, the psychiatrist's or probation officer's highly selected problem cases. The goal in treatment was too often a panacea and the necessary investigation and spade work were overlooked.

Many contributors were mainly concerned in apportioning the blame or defending themselves from attacks by previous writers. It was common for contributors to give a number of generally accepted causes such as broken homes, bad environmental conditions, etc., and then to include at the end, that nevertheless what was really required was greater discipline, punishment and intimidation. The majority of recommendations were markedly retributive. These facts seemed to indicate a high level of guilt amongst the contributors.

The contributions were of interest in that they seemed to recapitulate the progress of criminology. It was as though the evolutionary stream had left static pools which still reflected rays from the past. At the most primitive level were those who regarded the delinquent as possessed—in modern parlance having a 'kink'. The reaction was towards exorcism, not so

much through bell, book and candle as through the ash plant, the tawse and the birch. Some contributors, as Lombroso did, considered the delinquent as a specific, degenerate type. Correlations were regularly assumed to be causes and the monistic phase was represented by approximately a quarter of contributions. Finally, the vast majority were still carefully examining the many raindrops rather than considering why the individual did not put on his raincoat like the majority of the populace. Still less was there any consideration of how to reduce the downpour.

There was too great a tendency to consider the problem an isolated one, independent of economics, sociology and psychology.

CONCLUSION

The section of the public here considered did not appreciate the need for a critical and scientific method whatever the approach to the problems of juvenile delinquency.

If the results of past and future research are to be applied without undue resistance and delay, then more attention should now be paid to educating the public in these matters. One of the most important lessons will be the necessity for due admission of ignorance.

While balanced articles in simple language from authorities in various fields are much needed, the co-operation of editors of newspapers and popular periodicals will be almost equally important.



'The most common afflictive punishment is whipping. . . . The legislator who orders this punishment knows not what he does; the judge is nearly as ignorant; its execution will always be in the highest degree arbitrary and uncertain.'

JEREMY BENTHAM, 'Theory of Legislation.'

(Translated from the French of Etienne Dumont, by R. Hildreth, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900), p. 347.

THE DUTCH PRISON SYSTEM: A NEW PSYCHIATRIC OBSERVATION HOSPITAL

By P. A. H. BAAN (UTRECHT)

For a long time it has been realized that expert psychiatric advice is indispensable for the proper application of the penal law. In recent years the need for such advice has been strongly felt. This is due partly to the growing development of the sciences of psychiatry and psychology, and partly to the increased facilities which have been made available to criminal courts when imposing punishment and/or taking measures of disposal. In particular, the enforcement of legislation concerning psychopathic criminals has played an important part in this development. Furthermore, the improvement of the prison system, which resulted in a differentiation of penal institutions and in the selection of prisoners, and in measures of aftercare (discharged prisoners relief work), has made the need for psychiatric advice more urgent.

Experience with cases which, by virtue of Article 37A of the Penal Code, have been 'placed at the disposal of the Government' and consequently have been detained in the Government Institutions for Psychopathic Criminals at Avereest or in one of the two private institutions for psychopathic criminals (for Roman Catholics at Heiloo and for Protestants at Rekken), made it desirable, before the court decides to place a person in such an institution, to make use of a central institution for observation, where, better than in any remand home, an opportunity is presented to submit psychopathic criminals to a thorough psychiatric and psychological examination. Especially in difficult and doubtful cases the criminal courts throughout the country could obtain specialized advice from experts and so arrive at a fully justified decision.

About a year ago the Ministry of Justice decided to establish a psychiatric observation clinic at Utrecht, where a building, attached to the remand home and erected during the occupation, was found to be most suitable. This building had been intended by the Germans for political prisoners, and was adapted for the new purpose at relatively low expense. This clinic, the first Government observation centre for psychopathic criminals, was ready in October, 1949. It has been placed under the administrative management of the governor of the remand home at Utrecht, Mr. S. Postma. Medical supervision has been entrusted to P. A. H. Baan, M.D., LL.D., who is a lecturer in forensic psychiatry at the Utrecht University. He is assisted by a psychiatrist, also a psychologist with clinical experience and a staff of male

and female nurses. Close contact is maintained with the medical faculty of the Utrecht University (the professor of psychiatry is Prof. Rumke) with a view both to clinical examination and scientific collaboration; also with the heads of the institutions for psychopathic criminals, and with the University Departments of Psychology (Prof. Buytendijk, Prof. Van Lennep), Sociology (Prof. Kruyt) and Criminal Law and Criminology.

The clinic has accommodation for forty or fifty male patients; female patients are placed in the women's ward of the remand home. The period of examination, as a rule, occupies not more than six weeks, so that a rapid turnover of cases is possible.

Reports on the social aspects are entrusted to officials of the various societies for the after-care of ex-prisoners at Utrecht. As to supervision, the same measures are applied as in remand homes. When planning the interior of the rooms (for one to three prisoners), examination rooms, laboratories and offices for social service and administration, measures were taken to approach as much as possible the layout of a psychiatric institution.

The creation of these new facilities for clinical psychiatric observation will have the result that doctors attached to the remand homes and prisons throughout the country will in future pay more attention to the prevention of mental disorders among the detained prisoners, and thereby promote alternative penitentiary treatment.

In academic, medical and judicial circles great interest has been shown in this unique centre of criminal-psychiatric examination. By establishing this institution the Netherlands have made up for their backwardness in delinquency organization as compared with other European countries, in particular Belgium, Scandinavia and Great Britain.

NOTES ON CURRENT RESEARCH

As indicated in our Editorial Announcement, it is one of the objects of this Journal to publish regular reports on criminological research in progress in this country. No centre for the collection of data having special reference to the various aspects of Criminology is at present in existence in Great Britain, and the result is very often wasteful duplication of work or at least lack of co-ordination. We therefore appeal to all Institutions and private individuals undertaking criminological research in its widest sense (medical, psychological, psychiatric, sociological, legal) to send us information, if possible on the following lines:

- (1) Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information.
- (2) Subject of research.

- (3) Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?
Chairman of Research Committee?
Research Worker(s)?
- (4) When commenced and when likely to be completed?
- (5) Have any results already been published and where?
- (6) Any further remarks.

It is only through the regular collaboration of all workers in this field that we can hope to achieve our object.

It might be pertinent to quote in this connection the following extracts from the recent Debates on 'Crimes of Violence' in the House of Lords:¹

VISCOUNT TEMPLEWOOD: I myself believe that what is needed is a series of methodical and systematic inquiries directed, it may be, by some central body at the Home Office, and working for choice through the research departments of the various Universities. I think that as a result of those inquiries we should better understand which of the present methods is proving the most effective and where the lessons of experience tell us that we need changes.

LORD ARCHIBALD: I would suggest, with all regard to the economic difficulties of the country to-day, that, if possible, His Majesty's Government should make more funds available for research in this particular field—and not in any isolated part. It is, I suggest, a social, medical and psychiatric problem. The research which has been done in the past has been too small and has not been sufficiently co-ordinated between those three different aspects of the problem.

LORD CHORLEY: Think of how much material loss this tremendous waste caused by crime represents to the community every year. And there is not only the material loss but the loss in spiritual values also: we lose a very great deal of human value in these hardened criminals. Yet there is no institute of criminology; there is only a small department here and there in the universities and on them practically no money is spent. I think it is time that we were prepared to take much more seriously this question of studying methods of preventing crime.

VISCOUNT JOWITT (*Lord Chancellor*): I was asked by the noble Lord, Lord Archibald, in a most interesting maiden speech, and by the noble Viscount, Lord Templewood, whether we could do something to increase or assist scientific investigation into these matters. The noble Viscount, Lord Templewood, particularly suggested that Universities should be called in to help us. But a good deal of research is already going on. A study of the methods of the diagnosis and treatment of juvenile offenders financed by the Carnegie Trust has just been completed at Redhill Approved School, and the result is shortly to be published. Cambridge University are now starting a piece of research into the question of sexual offences, and recently the Carnegie Trust has appointed Mr. John Mack, Stevenson Lecturer in Citizenship in Glasgow University, to survey the entire field of juvenile delinquency. In the past the Home Office have made material freely available to research workers, and they are actively considering how the statistics which they collect could be made more useful for research purposes.

CURRENT RESEARCH

I. PROSTITUTION

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* Dr. H. Mannheim.

(2) *Subject of Research:* Prostitution; its extent, local distribution and characteristics in the London area.

¹ *Hansard*, House of Lords, March 21 and 23, 1950, cols. 334, 343/4, 470 and 518.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?*: The London School of Economics and the British Social Hygiene Council.

Chairman of Research Committee: Dr. H. Mannheim.

Research worker: Mrs. Rosalind Wilkinson, B.A.

(4) *Commenced in 1949; likely to be completed in 1951.*

(5) No results have so far been published.

II. LEISURE PURSUITS OF YOUNG DELINQUENTS

The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency is carrying out a research on leisure pursuits of juvenile delinquents. The preliminary stage of this research was sponsored by the Lord Mayor's United Nations Appeal for Children. It is planned to make a thorough psychiatric and social investigation of a random sample of 100 juvenile delinquents, convicted at least twice for serious offences. The aim of this pilot survey is not only to find out what are the typical leisure pursuits of juvenile delinquents of certain age range ($12\frac{1}{2}$ – $14\frac{1}{2}$), but also how they correlate with some important factors in their personality, family and social background, etc. By this method it is hoped to arrive at some tentative conclusions regarding the part played by certain leisure pursuits in delinquent behaviour (or, on the other hand, their preventive effect), also in what respect both delinquent and leisure activities have a common cause in the basic psychological make-up of the child.

A survey of literature on leisure and delinquency has been made by Mr. T. Grygier, and it is hoped to publish it shortly. It leads to the conclusion that little is known in the field under discussion. Most investigators have paid relatively more attention to the amount of evidence than to its reliability. Little information is given regarding the methods of investigation employed.

A pilot research into methods was therefore started by Mr. Grygier and the staff of the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) under the general direction of Dr. Denis Carroll. It was found that the existing Clinic material, while adequate for its own purpose, had little value for research. Research technique requires standardized information and the use of special research sheets. These have been devised and tried on some consecutive cases of juvenile delinquents admitted to the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.). A full report on the findings will be presented in this Journal.

III. CONDUCT DISORDERS IN CHILDREN

A study conducted at the Maudsley Hospital by Dr. Warren on the etiology and symptomatology of conduct disorders (in children aged five to fifteen years) in relation respectively to established delinquency and to neurotic symptoms.

A group of ninety children with conduct disorders was compared with a group of seventy children with neurotic disorders. Forty of the former group had not been charged in Court, twenty of them being below the age of eight. The etiology and symptoms were analysed in both main groups, and in addition those children with conduct disorders who had not been charged in Court were compared with those who, having been charged, could be considered established delinquents.

To be published shortly.

REVIEWS

THE BIOLOGY OF MENTAL DEFECT. By Lionel S. Penrose, M.A., M.D. Preface by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S. (London: Sedgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1949. Pp. 272. Price 21s. net.)

Prof. Penrose, Galton Professor of Genetics at London University, is an established authority on Mental Deficiency, particularly in its genetic aspects, and in this volume has given us a critical review of the subject, including his own researches which have been extensive and deep.

The genetic approach has, in the past, been not adequately expressed, and examined, and this has been a grave deficiency in Psychiatry where prognosis is not the sole interest of the clinician, although he is expected to be most concerned and helpful with regard to the destiny of the mentally afflicted. The overall incidence of Mental Defect is considerable and its relationship to other disorders of mind is of theoretical importance. Moreover, the battle over inheritance and environment needs classification, and Professor Penrose has placed us in his debt in furthering our insight into this issue.

The chapters on Classification and Causation are discussed from both a clinical and statistical angle and the reader will need some concentration to get the best out of them. The consideration of the methods of statistical analysis in Human Genetics should be very helpful to psychiatrists who have perhaps neglected to make themselves knowledgeable in this field. The chapter on genetics of Intelligence discusses the problem of the social determinants which have been unduly stressed by the more optimistic.

Clinicians will be thankful for the later chapters on clinical types discussed genetically.

Although the relationship of genetics to Delinquency in defective persons is only mentioned incidentally, the volume should be in the hands of all serious students of the factors that make for criminal behaviour.

E. M.

PROBATION AND RE-EDUCATION. By Elizabeth R. Glover. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1949. Pp. xii + 292. Price 12s. 6d.)

As compared with the fairly extensive literature on prison problems, probation has so far been almost completely neglected by serious writers in this country. Apart from the ' Handbook of Probation ', an admirable achievement when first published in 1935 but now seriously out-of-date, the equally dated ' Report on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction ' of 1936, and the informative but all-too-brief official pamphlet ' The Probation Service ', there is hardly anything worth mentioning on the subject.

Miss Glover, as a former probation officer and Home Office inspector, later for some years Deputy Principal Probation Officer for London and Joint Secretary of the Probation Training Board, is very well qualified to fill some of the existing gaps. The timing of the publication of her book has been somewhat unfortunate as it came out very soon after the passing of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. Consequently, the important provisions of this Act relating to probation and allied

subjects could be considered only very inadequately in a few footnotes, whereas the book as a whole still reflects the position prior to the Act. However, if the reader is aware of this weakness (to which attention might have been drawn in the Preface) the book will be of very real value to him. The young and inexperienced probation officer, in particular, will find here a great deal of practical wisdom which may prevent many false moves on his part. For example, he is told that he should not place his initial relationship with the probationer too much on an authoritarian basis as otherwise he may have to climb down very soon: that probation should mean neither leniency nor harshness but individual treatment; that psychology and psychiatry have their place in probation work; that his work should be carefully planned (with practical examples of how to do it); and a great many other useful prescriptions, most of them commonplace in theory but often difficult to apply in practice.

It was not the author's object to write a legal treatise or a scientific study of probation as a whole. Nevertheless, the scarcity of references to important legal issues and to criminological literature (even such names as Claud Mullins and John Watson are entirely absent from the Reading List) should be remedied in future editions.

H. M.

CASE STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF CRIME (VOL. II). By Ben Karpman, M.D. (Washington: Medical Science Press, 1947. Pp. 738. Price not stated.)

Pursuing his monumental task, Dr. Karpman has now produced a second, revised, edition of the second volume of his well-known case studies. It deals exclusively with cases involving sexual crimes. The method followed is similar to that described in Vol. I, except that expository matter has been reserved for publication in a second volume of 'The Individual Criminal.' The aim of the book is primarily to give a detailed account of the lives of the patients concerned. Material is collected through psycho-analysis, or, where this is not applicable, by a questionnaire method. After preliminary talks the patient is asked to write out his life-history in his own way, and, on the basis of this draft, discussions take place intended to fill out the gaps in the narrative. No leading questions are asked. Dreams are also collected and dealt with in batches. A memorandum of the work done is then submitted to the patient, after study of which further details are worked out and written up. The full story is then transcribed into intelligible English without altering the spirit or content of the original drafts. Social and cultural as well as psychogenic factors are thus presented as seen through the eyes of the patient.

In assessing a volume of this kind, two considerations should be borne in mind; first, that it is addressed to a public having 'no direct interest in refined psychiatric diagnosis' and, second, that it is intended in the main as 'a reference source for research in criminal material'. The author in his preface rebuts the criticism that much of this material is vitiated by the fabrications of the patient, maintaining that, as the various stages of the work proceed, these are gradually detected and evaluated, thus allowing more objective data ultimately to emerge. And, of course, there is a good deal in Dr. Karpman's contention that, provided the defensive falsifications are detected, they also constitute valuable material for investigation.

What does clearly emerge from these studies is the general mentality of the criminal types investigated. And it is from this angle that the studies should be regarded. Those who are unfamiliar with the behaviour, thought, emotions, memories and dreams of the criminal will find a rich assortment of material to study. In this respect the only drawback to the volume is its unconscionable weight (it turns the scale at five pounds avoirdupois). The psychiatric technician and those who hunger for details of the dynamics of the cases will, however, miss the leading strings of interpretation which the author alone is in the best position to provide. Clearly then it should be read key in hand, and this involves the acquisition of all the supplementary volumes. Here is certainly a *magnum opus* and whatever faults the reader may have to find with it, he cannot deny that, to use the conventional phrase, it fills a felt want in clinical data. With the comforting knowledge that little relevant (pre)conscious matter has been omitted, he can at least form his own opinion of the cases. Criminological libraries should see to it that he has the opportunity of doing so.

E. G.

DELIBERATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PENAL AND PENITENTIARY CONGRESSES: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. By Negley K. Teeters. (Philadelphia: Temple University Book Store. 1949. Pp. 200. Price \$4.)

This book by the well-known American penologist could hardly have come out at a more favourable moment. All those interested in the work of the I.P.P.C. and, in particular, all would-be visitors to the forthcoming Twelfth Congress at The Hague (see the Note on this Congress on p. 73) will be grateful to the author for making the essence of that work for the first time easily accessible in English. As pointed out in the Preface by Sanford Bates, as President of the I.P.P.C., with the exception of three Congresses—London, 1872 and 1925, and Berlin, 1935—the proceedings have so far been available only in French. The plan of the present work is to devote to each of the Congresses one chapter, giving first a brief description of its organization, leading personalities, atmosphere, social occasions, and so on, followed by a list of the questions discussed and the resolutions adopted. For reasons of space, the discussions, rightly described by the author as 'the most incisive and valuable part of a conference of experts', could not be included.

Financial and other assistance and access to their records was generously given to the author by the I.P.P.C., and the American Prison Association sponsored the publication. A special feature are the photographs of the Presidents of the eleven Congresses so far held.

H. M.

THREE ESSAYS ON THE THEORY OF SEXUALITY. By Sigmund Freud. (London: Imago Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. 133. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

This is the first English edition of Freud's classical essays, which have hitherto been inaccessible to British readers. The translation is based on the 1942 issue (in German) of Freud's collected works and includes the last revisions of the essays made by Freud.

Although not directly concerned with the delinquent aspect of sexual perversions and aberrations, the book is a classic which should be owned and constantly consulted by every worker in the field of delinquency. It comprises three sections dealing with Sexual Aberrations, Infantile Sexuality, and the Transformation of

Puberty. Although written for trained psychologists, the presentation is clear enough to be understood by any lay reader who is prepared to make the mental effort which the complications of these subjects demand. It was not, as Freud himself pointed out in his Introduction, intended to be a 'complete' theory of sexuality; but it is an indispensable theory, in no way out-moded by the passage of about forty-five years. Those who are interested in the original findings regarding infantile sexuality, which at the time caused such an uproar throughout Europe and America, cannot fail to note that much that was then regarded either as revolutionary or obscene, is now the accepted outlook of the average discerning parent. The book is excellently translated by James Strachey. E. G.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CRIMINOLOGY. Edited by Vernon C. Branham, M.D., and Samuel B. Kutash, Ph.D. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. 527. Price \$12.)

The object of this encyclopædia, as set forth soberly by the publishers, is 'to provide a compendium of existing facts and knowledge in criminology', and to deal at the same time with 'important current trends and departures in this highly complex field'. Towards this end the services of sixty-one outstanding specialists in psychology, psychiatry, sociology, medicine, law, criminological research, police science, education, history, penology, philosophy, and religion were commissioned; and the result is a handsomely produced volume in which about 130 articles covering well over 1,000 items of criminological interest are dealt with in alphabetical order. An adequate cross-index is supplied; and the Editors have seen to it that each article is followed by a short but useful bibliography, chiefly of U.S. literature.

Strictly speaking, a production of this kind should be reviewed by a team of experts; but, waiving this more adequate means of appraisal, it may be said that the book has all the virtues and all the faults of a goodish encyclopædia. The reader is liable to be exasperated by the cursory nature of too many of the articles and by their constant overlapping. But these are drawbacks inherent in the encyclopædic approach. Even the wide variation in scientific value of the various contributions can be accounted for in part by the fact that not all the disciplines invoked are equally searching. A much more serious criticism is that, despite their authoritative standing, many of the contributors have not succeeded in doing justice to the criminological work existing in their own field.

Thus, Zilboorg has written a pleasantly philosophical essay on 'Psycho-analysis and Criminology' from which the reader would scarcely gather that this branch of science has anything very practical or immediate to say about delinquency. The general psychiatry, too, although much more freely besprinkled with Freudian views than would be the case in Britain, is not of a very stimulating or penetrating order. One gets the impression also that the sociological contributions are more descriptive than dynamic. One brief contribution entitled 'The Causation of Crime' is quite unnecessarily flat and unilluminating. Here and there one comes across surprising incongruities as when kleptomania is described under the heading of sexual perversion. It is high time that obsessional patterns were distinguished from fetichistic techniques.

But with all its faults it is a goodish encyclopædia and provides a convenient

source of reference. Psychologists may be dissatisfied with the contributions to their own speciality, but they will appreciate the general outline of other branches of criminological work. And *mutatis mutandis* sociologists will no doubt have similar reactions. It can be specially recommended to students, including magistrates, who require to familiarize themselves with the various aspects of criminology and who can afford the somewhat exorbitant price.

E. G.

THE PERSON IN THE BODY. By Leland E. Hinsie, M.D. (London: Thorsons Publishers Ltd. 1948. Pp. 312. Price 8s. 6d. net.)

This is a popular book on psychosomatic illnesses, their manifestations, causes and possible cure. Its purpose is to help the reader, 'student and physician alike, to gain insight into one of the commonest causes of human disability'. Case histories are given liberally. The book comes from the pen of a psychiatrist with knowledge, experience and human understanding and who is known by other popular publications of high merit. He has a rare gift of exposition, his style is racily fluent, and the translation into ordinary language of psychological terms and concepts is fortunate throughout. This book can be read with advantage by anybody whose interests are connected in any way with mental suffering, its cure and prevention.

IDA MACALPINE.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER. By Rudolf Allers. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. 362. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a paper-backed reprint of a book on child training originally published in 1931. The author, a Catholic psychiatrist, has been raised by his translator, Dr. E. B. Strauss, to the rank of 'Catholic Adlerian' and warmly congratulated on having effected a satisfactory synthesis between Catholic thought and Adlerian psychology. It is difficult to see what Dr. Allers gains by yoking Adler's Inferiority and Will to Power with Man's First Disobedience and the Fall of Lucifer through Pride; surely he has it on saintly authority that fear is the sign of a haughty spirit. But if Catholic-Adlerian opinion seems to converge towards the conclusion that a terrified child, a difficult child, and a thieving child are guilty alike of the sin of Lucifer, we are reassured by the benevolence of Dr. Allers, who adopts (from a Jesuit source) the principle of 'always siding with the children'. The less presentable errors of adolescence are treated with good sense and consistency not always found in association with moralistic attitudes.

Not an important book, but readable, and contains much to interest and surprise non-Catholics.

W. M. GEDDES.

PSYCHIATRY: A SHORT TREATISE. By William A. O'Connor, L.M.S.S.A.(Lond.), D.P.M.(Lond.). (Bristol: John Wright & Sons Ltd., London. 1947. Pp. 392. Price 35s.)

This book has the sub-title 'A Short Treatise', but although it is comparatively short its aim is very much more ambitious than one would expect from a treatise. In fact, the author's opening sentence, 'No somatic disease exists which has not

also its psychological aspect, and no psychological disease exists which has not also its somatic aspect', gives an outline of the vast territory he attempts to cover. Chapters are included on 'Psychosomatic Aspects, Classification and Ætiology', 'Psychic Mechanisms', 'Analytic Therapy and Psycho-analytic Theory', 'Psychiatric Aspects of Certain Organic Diseases and Injuries' and on 'Psychosomatic Disturbance in the Child'.

Although the author makes it quite clear that in his view psychiatry is in need of 'being rescued from the domination of the general surgeon, the pseudo-dietician, the machinist and the ill-guided, wild anti-Freudian' he makes a point of discussing all current methods of treatment under the appropriate headings. The book assembles a great number of facts and opinions, and has its value from this point of view. Psycho-analysis to which the author frequently pays tribute is presented in a garbled manner. Delinquency finds only a bare allusion in a short chapter on 'Psychopathic Personality'.

IDA MACALPINE.

THE MIND IN ACTION. By Eric Berne. (London: John Lehmann. 1949. Pp. 348. Price 15s. net.)

An unusually successful attempt by a young psycho-analytical psychiatrist to give a popular account of psycho-analysis. Simply and pithily expressed, with a wealth of clinical illustration and a minimum of inaccuracy, it is a suitable primer for the social student. References to delinquency are confined to a few pages on the psychopath.

E. G.

SOCIETY AND ITS CRIMINALS. By Paul Reiwald. (London: Wm. Heinemann. 1949. Pp. 308. Price 21s. net.)

It would have been an advantage both to the author of this book and to its potential readers had Dr. Reiwald added the pertinent sub-title: *An Essay in Psycho-analytical Sociology*. He might, indeed, have altered the title-head to read 'Society—the Criminal'. For his main thesis is that the criminal behaviour of the delinquent cannot be understood without a parallel assessment of the (unconscious) criminal impulses both of the law-abiding and of the law-enforcing. And his substantiation of this thesis is arrived at by applying Freudian principles to the experience gained by the author, first as a practising advocate and later as a psycho-analytical student. (Dr. Reiwald is now Reader in Criminology in the University of Geneva.)

Books on psycho-analytical sociology are few and far between. As a rule they consist mainly of rather facile applications to current affairs of Freud's fundamental discoveries regarding the structure and functions of groups. Although stimulating enough in their way, these efforts have rarely been supported by systematic examination of the sociological data concerned. Dr. Reiwald had the advantage of being familiar with most aspects of criminology from trial to sentence and has fortified himself by a close study of the historical and anthropological background. Starting with a consideration of the resistances of the lawyer to psychology, he proceeds to indicate that, particularly in the case of the judge, these resistances are rooted in the latter's function as an unconscious father-substitute. Society's avoidance of the criminal is the result of a neurotic fixation on crime based in turn on repressed phantasies, which also account for the popu-

larity of the crime novel. The genesis of punishment is to be found in the animistic survivals of primeval law. 'Criminal law has developed counter-aggression as justified, formalized and partially sub-limited against the unjustified, formless, and primitive aggression of the asocial.' It is not only a defence but is utilized by the law-abiding to release their own repressed aggression.

These various generalizations, familiar enough to the psycho-analytical reader, are set out with a particularity of instance and reference, which entitles the book to a prominent place amongst works of sociological reference. Yet despite the author's psycho-analytical training, it is as a vehicle of reformist zeal rather than a psycho-analytical study that the book will ultimately be measured. Like some other sociologists who have turned to psycho-analysis for insight into their problems, Dr. Reiwald does not change his sociological spots. His recommendations for the modification of criminal law are confined to 'isolating the adult asocial from force and aggression and making good the damage already sustained (by them)' together with restriction of certain civil liberties and 'public censure'. To these suggestions are added hints as to the possibility of painless extermination (which is apparently not of the same order of aggression as present-day capital punishment) for repeated murder and serious sexual offences; and, for serious 'white-collar' offences, life-long preventative detention with compulsory work. For the rest 'treatment instead of emotional counter-reaction' is to be applied both to adults and to young persons!

That Dr. Reiwald should have omitted any reference to the developmental factors affecting the child-life of the potential delinquent is, in view of his psycho-analytical proclivities, little short of amazing. It is a flaw in presentation that should be put to rights in any future edition, which incidentally deserves to be given something better than a paper cover. With these reservations, the book deserves considerable praise. Most scientific workers in the field of delinquency are, by nature and profession, too timid or too politic to tackle the problem of the non-delinquent. Dr. Reiwald's uncompromising approach may not add to his popularity in forensic circles; and his technique of propaganda is perhaps not of the best; but he is certainly a courageous psycho-analytical sociologist.

E. G.

ABSTRACTS

(under the direction of W. R. Bett (LONDON).)

J. C. MACKWOOD: 'The Psychological Treatment of Offenders in Prison.' *British Journal of Psychology [General Section]*, (September) 1949, **40**, Part I, 5-22.

This paper is based on the author's experience over a period of six years with convicted offenders treated at Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

One of the chief obstacles in the psychological treatment of prisoners is the lack of space for the outlet of energy in constructive and satisfying ways. Shortage of trained personnel also presents a great problem. The prisoner who has to wait some months for treatment tends to become stale or apathetic in his attitude to psychotherapy. The interest of most prisoners flags within a few weeks of

discharge. The types of offenders treated are analysed. Many show vagaries of behaviour similar to those of the average child in the course of development : they have been environmentally suppressed and restricted. Group treatment socializes and educates. The morale among group members is far higher than that of offenders in the main halls in prison. It is possible to start the socializing of anti-social offenders in prison. It is necessary to remember that absence of opportunity is absence of temptation, and offenders must be tested out in conditions more closely resembling those of the outside world. However much is done from inside it will be wasted unless the public is educated away from the idea that punishment is the main deterrent for delinquency.

M. SCHMIDBERG : 'The Treatment of Criminals.' *Psychoanalytic Review*, (October) 1949, 36, 403-10.

Delinquency is a social, not a medical, diagnosis. The majority of those who come before the courts are mostly 'accidental' delinquents. The tragedy of our penal system is that, though it keeps the normal citizen from breaking the law with some success, it turns many 'accidental' delinquents into habitual criminals. The importance is stressed of 'secondary' factors in neurotic symptoms of long standing. The fact that a symptom is used by the patient to punish himself or to hurt his family may become more important than the original meaning of the symptom. Neurotic inability to work is a primary factor in delinquent development. In the majority of offenders psychological difficulties are intensified by social factors. In the development of almost every serious criminal, depersonalization mechanisms can be traced. Schizoid mechanisms are largely responsible for the apparent lack of guilt and affection, and paranoid mechanisms for inability to get a steady job or to stay in one place. A number of major criminals can be successfully treated. Analysis is important, being the only way really to study them.

SIR NORWOOD EAST : 'Juvenile Delinquency.' *British Medical Bulletin*, 1949, 6, 52-3.

During the year 1945 the incidence of crime in England and Wales in the age-group eight and under fourteen years was 22,922 males and 1,500 females. In the age-group fourteen and under seventeen the figures were 17,349 males and 1,732 females. The number of delinquents and criminals per 100,000 of the population at different ages in both sexes was highest at the age of sixteen years. Offenders under the age of fourteen were dealt with by Magistrates' Courts as follows : 41 per cent. were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, 38 per cent. were dismissed or bound over, 8 per cent. were sent to Approved Schools, and 11 per cent. were fined. Between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, 41 per cent. were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, 26 per cent. were dismissed or bound over, 11 per cent. were sent to Approved Schools, and 19 per cent. were fined.

Modern research has not materially altered the view that overcrowding, poverty, and family strife may be causal factors among juvenile offenders. There is general agreement that juvenile delinquency is to some extent an expression of indiscipline. Regular medical inspection and treatment of school children has done much to forestall crime and misconduct in later life.

Every juvenile delinquent presents a special diagnostic, prognostic, and therapeutic problem. Medical psychologists aided by trained social workers have a contribution to make in a proportion of exceptional cases. Greater preventive efforts are required.

SIR NORWOOD EAST : ' Study and Treatment of the Criminal, and Care of the Mentally Defective and Mentally Abnormal Criminal.' *British Medical Bulletin*, 1949, **6**, 57-9.

Understanding of the criminal has been improved by (1) official studies, (2) studies by societies, (3) studies by individuals, (4) extraneous studies, and (5) studies by the Executive Authority.

The lesser forms of mental abnormality among prisoners are treated by psychotherapists either in the prison or in a mental hospital or clinic. The Prison Commissioners have agreed to start on colony lines an institution for this class of offender, but its inception has been delayed by difficulties due to the war. The Criminal Justice Act allows a court to add to a probation order a requirement that an offender shall undergo medical treatment. If such treatment is begun early in an offender's career lasting benefit may be obtained, and the amount of crime committed by mentally abnormal persons may be reduced.

P. C. GLICK : ' First Marriages and Remarriages.' *American Sociological Review*, (December) 1949, **14**, 726-34. (Two tables ; summary ; 11 references.)

Statistics collected in the United States by the Bureau of Census in 1948 showed that the same proportion (13 per cent.) of married men as of married women of all ages had been married more than once. Persons who re-marry tend to select a previously married person. One-fifth of those married in the five preceding years had previously been married. In those married for successively longer periods the percentage of those married more than once was successively smaller. Only one-fourth of those divorced in the five years had not re-married.

R. H. CASSEL and H. S. DANENHOWER : ' Mental Subnormality Developmentally Arrested : Social Competence.' *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, (January) 1950, **54**, 282-9. (Two tables ; summary and conclusions ; 12 references.)

This study analyses the responses which make up the Social Age of endogenous and exogenous feeble-minded subjects, and deals with the contribution which the various primary mental abilities make towards the total Social Age.

The data showed that the Primary Mental Abilities from which the social competence of the endogenous group could be predicted were, in order of importance, Verbal, Motor and Perceptual Speed. The P.M.A.'s from which the social competence of the exogenous group could be predicted were, in order of importance, Verbal, Perceptual Speed, and Quantitative.

G. E. GARDNER : ' The Community and the Aggressive Child.' *Mental Hygiene*, (January) 1950, **34**, 44-63.

Sexual abnormalities or delinquencies, both adult and juvenile, are instinctive expressions that were perfectly normal and to be expected in the earlier stages of

the individual's development; continuing or re-emerging at a later date when society has decreed that they should have been 'repressed', they constitute delinquency.

A legal procedure which, if enacted, might prove of practical value in dealing with the aggressive sexual delinquent is outlined, and its possible value as a preventive measure is discussed. The sexual offender requires segregation and treatment based on recognition of the fact that he is but partially responsible.

W. R. B.

NOTES ON INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES

Of the many International Congresses to be held in 1950, the following are of special interest to criminologists:

I. THE TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL PENAL AND PENITENTIARY CONGRESS

The Hague, August 14-19, 1950

After a reception on Sunday night, the Congress will open on Monday, August 14. The following are eligible for membership:—(a) Delegates sent by Governments. (b) Members of Parliaments, State Councils or equivalent bodies. (c) Members of National Academies. (d) University Teachers. (e) High Officials of the Ministries or Departments concerned. (f) Members of Courts and Tribunals. (g) Higher Officials of Prison Administrations. (h) Advocates regularly entered at a Bar. (i) Delegates and Members of Penal and Penitentiary Societies and Prisoners' Aftercare Societies. (k) Persons who have become known by their scientific work on penal and penitentiary questions. (l) Persons invited for the purpose by the I.P.P.C.

The Congress is divided into four sections, according to the nature of the questions to be discussed. Reports have been requested from experts selected by the I.P.P.C. These will be sent, if possible, prior to the Congress, to all who have paid their registration fee of 20 Dutch guilders.

French and English are the official languages of the Congress.

Among the questions for discussion are the following:

Section 1: Question 2: How can psychiatric science be applied in prisons (a) to the medical treatment of certain prisoners and (b) to the classification of prisoners and (c) to individualization of the régime?

Question 3: What principles should underlie the classification of prisoners?

Section 2: Question 1: To what extent can open institutions take the place of the traditional prison?

Question 2: The treatment and release of habitual offenders.

Section 3: Question 1: Short term imprisonment and its alternatives (probation, fines, compulsory home labour, etc.).

Section 4: Question 1: What developments have there been in the penal treatment of juvenile offenders (Reformatory, Borstal, *Prison-école*, etc.)?

Question 2: Should the protection of neglected and morally abandoned children be secured by a judicial authority or by a non-judicial body? Should the Courts for delinquent children and juveniles be maintained?

Persons who wish to become members of the Congress should apply to the Secretary of the Local Organizing Committee, Dr. J. D. van den Berg, Ministry of Justice, Plein 2b, The Hague, Netherlands, and foreign participants are asked to pay to a bank in their country the equivalent of 20 Dutch guilders to be credited to the account of the Twelfth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress, the Hague 1950, at the Amsterdamse Bank N.V., The Hague.

Any further information may be obtained through the delegates of the British Government on the I.P.P.C., Mr. Lionel W. Fox, C.B., M.C., Chairman of the Prison Commission for England and Wales, Home Office, London, and Mr. John Ross, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Department of Probation and Juvenile Delinquency, Home Office, London.

II. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CRIMINOLOGY *Paris, September 10-19, 1950*

A general invitation to take part in the work of the Congress is extended to all specialists in Anthropology, Biology, Psychiatry, Psychology, Psycho-analysis, Sociology, Forensic Medicine, Police Science, Penology and Social Science, and to all lawyers, administrators, teachers and educational workers, almoners and prison visitors, interested in the application of science to delinquency. All governments, the United Nations and some special institutions have been invited to send official delegates. Already sixty nations have accepted.

French, English and Spanish are the official languages of the Congress.

The first four afternoons of the Congress will be devoted to the work of various Sections; these will include Anthropology-Typology, Sociology, Biology, Psychiatry, Psychology, Psycho-analysis, Forensic Medicine, Police Science, Penology and Juvenile Delinquency.

The General Meetings will take place in the Great Hall of the Palais de la Sorbonne. They will be in three parts. Part One will be devoted to the examination of the methods of observation and to the results achieved in various branches of science in the exploration of crime-producing factors. Part Two will be devoted to the synthesis of these factors in Criminology. Part Three will include the discussion of a project to establish an International Institute of Criminology and the future development of the study of delinquency.

The work of the Congress will be based mainly on 'general reports', which in turn will include 'national reports' in the appropriate sections. National Committees have been formed within the various Sections of the Congress to deal with the preparatory work.

There will be a Library Stand, an Exhibition of Criminological Documentation, and a display of technical films. The registration fees for all participants in the Congress have been fixed at 5,000 francs and for the members of their families 2,000 francs. Both will benefit from reductions in travelling expenses and be able to secure accommodation at a moderate price.

All communications should be sent to the General Secretary:— MONSIEUR P. PIPROT D'ALLEAUME, Secrétaire Général, 188, Avenue Victor-Hugo, PARIS XVIe. *Téléphone:* TRO 04-13.

Information and Forms of Application for membership can also be obtained from The Organizing Secretary in the United Kingdom :—c/o Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 8, Bourdon Street, LONDON, W.1. *Telephone* : Mayfair 0632.

III. THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PSYCHIATRY

Paris, September 18-27

The Congress is under the general secretaryship of Dr. Henry Ey, 1 Rue Cabanis, and its programme is now complete. There is no overall topic around which the deliberations will be constellated. There are five sections which will cover all fields of Psychiatry.

Section I	General Psychopathology	Delusions.
Section II	Clinical Psychiatry	Use of Mental Tests.
Section III	Cerebral Anatomy	Leucotomy, etc.
Section IV	Biological Therapy	Shock Therapy.
Section V	Psycho-analysis	Modern Trends.
Section VI	Social Psychiatry	Genetic Aspects.

Within the framework of the sections, there will be discussions on special topics over a wide range. Special services for Delinquents will be discussed. An exhibition of psychopathic art is being assembled. Concurrently, the second International Congress of Child Psychiatry will take up the general study of Behaviour Problems of Childhood.

There will be numerous receptions and tours for those who wish to avail themselves of French amenities, and visit the historic landmarks of France.

IV. THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF JUVENILE COURT JUDGES

Liège, July 17-20

The Congress is organized by The International Association of Juvenile Court Judges and is under the patronage of the Belgian Government and of the Minister of Justice.

The Meetings are open to Juvenile Court Magistrates and other persons who, owing to their qualifications and their work in the field of child welfare are able to render special service to the Association. French will be the language used at the Congress, but interpreters will be present to assist foreign delegates.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary-General, M. J. Comblen, Juge des Enfants, Vice-Président du Tribunal, Palais de Justice, Liège, Belgium.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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W. F. ROPER, M.B., B.S., Principal Medical Officer, H.M. Prison, Wakefield. Author of 'When the Family Fails' (Occasional Papers No. 3, published by the British Social Hygiene Council) and several papers on Prisons; has spent twenty-four years in the Prison Medical Service.

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OLOF KINBERG, M.D., Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Stockholm. Director of the Kriminologiska Institutet at Stockholm. Author of many works on Criminology and Psychiatry in Swedish, including 'Incest-problemet i Sverige' (1943), and of 'Basic Problems of Criminology' (1935).

HEINRICH MENG, M.D., is Professor of Mental Hygiene at the University of Basle. Author of 'Protection de la Santé Mentale', 'Psyche und Hormon', and numerous papers on psycho-analysis; edited 'Das Psychoanalytische Volksbuch', 'Psycho-hygiene: Wissenschaft und Praxis'.

PAUL REIWALD, Dr. Jur., formerly a practising advocate and later student of psycho-analysis, is now Reader in Criminology at the University of Geneva. Author of "Society and its Criminals," (Engl. ed. 1949), etc.

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